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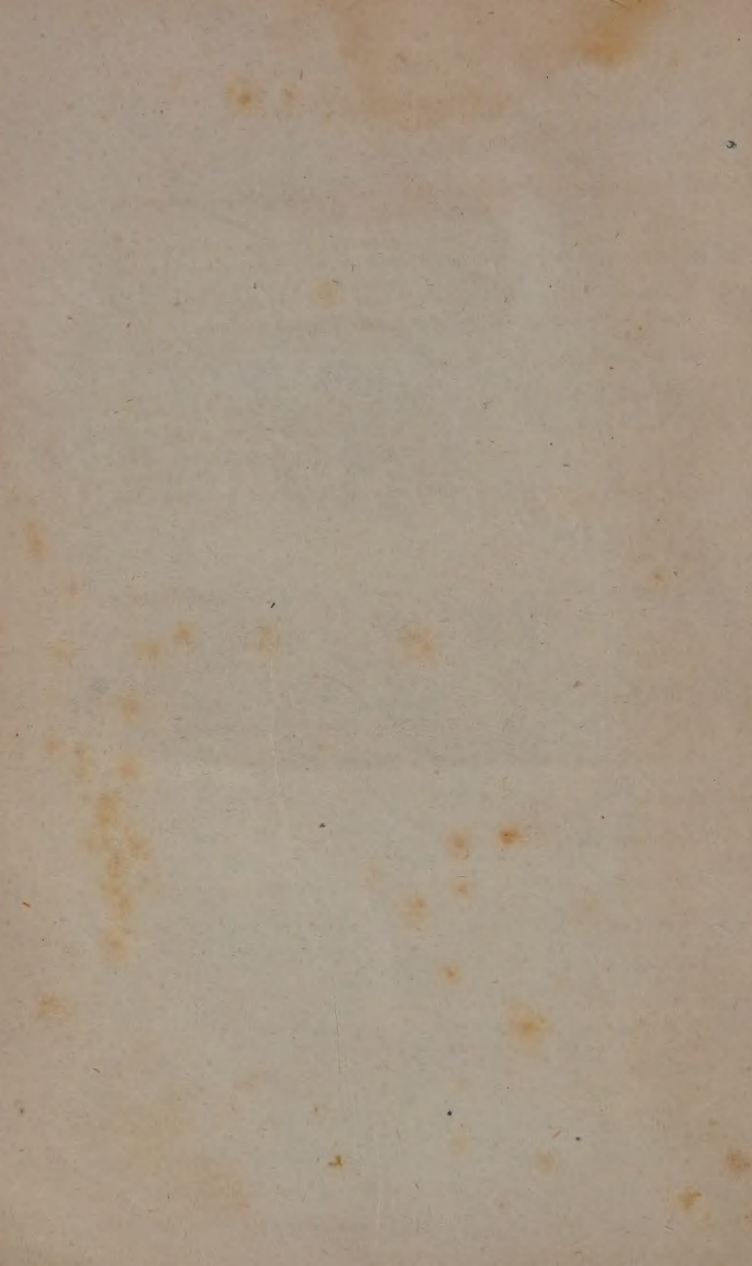
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## RECOMMENDATIONS.

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*From the Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, Pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass.*

The book which Mr. Berk is now circulating, is well worthy of attention from all friends of the Jews, his "brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh." Those who purchase it, will do a kindness to him, while they may receive a full equivalent, if not more, in the value of the information which it contains.

SAMUEL M. WORCESTER.

*Salem, March 30, 1842.*

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*From Rev. Thomas M. Clark, Rector of Grace Church, Boston.*

The information contained in "the History of the Jews," republished in this country by Mr. Berk, is very valuable. The book appears to have been compiled with care, and the subscriber believes that its statements may be relied on as true. He would cordially recommend it to the Christian public.

THOMAS M. CLARK.

*Boston, July 5, 1842.*

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*From Rev. Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature Theol. Seminary, Andover.*

I have read the *History of the Jews*, by Mr. Berk, the bearer of this, and deem it a useful book in giving information respecting the Jewish nation from the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans, down to the present period. I can hardly name the book, which comprises so much of this history in so small a compass, in the English language. I think it worthy of the attention and the patronage of those who feel an interest in reclaiming the unbelieving Jews; and I hope and trust that there are few Christians destitute of such an interest.

MOSES STUART.

*Andover, 17th Nov. 1842.*

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*From Rev. Dr. Sharp, Pastor of Charles St. Baptist Church, Boston.*

The History of the Jews from the destruction of Jerusalem to the present year, published by Mr. M. A. Berk, with a preface by Dr. Jenks, is a very interesting volume. It contains information concerning that ancient, and much injured people, that can be found in no other book. I trust the history of that wonderful people, their persecutions and sufferings, will be generally read; and excite the sympathies and prayers and efforts of Christians in their behalf—and that the publisher of this book will be amply rewarded.

DANIEL SHARP.

*Boston, Jan. 5, 1843.*







Engraved by J. G. Smith

But the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee,  
And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.



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THE

# HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

FROM THE

TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE PRESENT TIME,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THEIR WANDERINGS, PERSECUTIONS, COMMERCIAL  
ENTERPRISES AND LITERARY EXERTIONS :

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

VARIOUS EFFORTS MADE FOR THEIR CONVERSION.

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Second American, from the First Edinburgh Edition,

GREATLY ENLARGED BY THE PUBLISHER WITH MUCH RECENT  
AND VALUABLE INFORMATION,

WITH A PREFACE BY

WILLIAM JENKS, D. D.

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ANDOVER:

PUBLISHED BY M. A. BERK.  
1843.



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ANDOVER :

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## PREFACE

TO THE SCOTTISH EDITION.

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THE very peculiar interest at present taken in the condition of the Jews, and the recent movement in their favor, have led the writer of the following pages to conceive, that a succinct narrative of their fortunes, from the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, down to the present time, will not be unacceptable to the public. This period at once suggests itself to the mind as essentially distinguished from the preceding portion of their history, by their continued exile from that land, which by a divine dispensation, was bestowed upon their fathers.

While the author has to acknowledge his obligations to the well-known volumes of Basnage and Milman, he has derived much additional information from other sources, especially from the learned work of M. Depping, on the Jews of the Middle Ages, which has furnished him with many valuable facts connected with their condition and literature in modern times. With regard to the present state of this remarkable people, he has availed himself, not only of publications, which like the Journals of Dr. Wolff and the Sketches of Dr. M'Caul, bear an exclusive reference to them, but also of incidental notices contained in many books of travels, periodicals and miscellanies, not generally accessible. He trusts that he has thus brought within a moderate compass the most

interesting and important facts which relate to their religious and secular history, during the interval to which his researches extend.

The chapter upon the late efforts made to bring the Jews to the knowledge and belief of the Gospel, will, it is hoped, prove not the least acceptable portion of the volume. If the account now given of what has been hitherto done shall, by the divine blessing, in any degree promote the cause of Israel's conversion, the time and labor which the author expended upon collecting the materials will not have been thrown away. The subject is one which ought to engage most deeply the attention and sympathies of the Christian community. The Jews were the ancient depositaries of those Scriptures on which our faith is founded. For this we owe them a debt which has never yet been duly acknowledged; and it is the opinion of many, that if, in our efforts to evangelize the world, our labors, like those of the apostles, had 'begun at Jerusalem,' much greater success would have attended the benevolent exertions which have been made for that purpose during the last fifty years.

*Edinburgh, August, 1840.*

## P R E F A C E

TO THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

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THE condition and history of the Jews cannot be contemplated without deep interest. In their antiquity, they exhibit an unbroken line of descent from Abraham. In their glorious ancestry, they have a line of illustrious monarchs. In their literature, they can point to poets, orators, musicians, and philosophers which have not been equalled. In their list of military, and political men, and lawgivers, they can name many, the most illustrious that ever lived. Who has surpassed Joshua, David, Solomon, or Moses? They are the successors of the nation selected by the Almighty as his peculiar people. To them did Jehovah deliver his laws and ordinances. To them was committed the Oracles of Truth, which unfold the redemption of the human family, by the Shiloh, the Messiah, "Our Redeemer the Lord of Hosts." From them we Gentiles received the Holy Scriptures, with the commandments and ordinances. They have introduced us to the illustrious Lawgiver Moses, from whom the civilized nations have derived their most valuable laws and moral precepts. They bring us to "the sweet Psalmist of Israel," and teach us to utter in purest and loftiest strains, the praises of God. Their prophets guide us into all truth. And to crown the whole amount of divine blessings,—from their nation descended the PRINCE OF

LIFE, the LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Redeemer of Jews and Gentiles, without partiality, who has opened up the new and living way to eternal glory in heaven !

This nation is cast off for a season, in the New Testament times. But who were the Apostles ? They were Jews. What inspired men gave us the four Gospels ? The Jews, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Who gave us that divine specimen of narrative, the Acts ? A Jew inspired by the Holy One. Who did so elegantly discourse on divine things, respecting the tender mercy of our God in our redemption, and exaltation through holiness, into glory ? Who wrote these discourses, in all purity, simplicity, and sublimity ? The Jew, St. Paul. Who leaned on his Saviour's breast, and drank in divine love, from the fountain head, and poured out his soul in love, the most touching, and in truth the most divine ? It was a Jew,—the beloved disciple, John. Who has presented the destinies of the church, in a continuous series of prophecies, set forth in gorgeous imagery, and poetry the most exalted and sublime ? The Jew St. John, in the book of Revelation, which contains imagery purer, and more sublime than that of Homer, Virgil, or all ancient and modern men ?

When we think of these things we wonder why the Jews should have been so hated, and contemned, and persecuted by men professing Christianity in the countries of the old world. Can any modern nation boast of such ancestors ? Can any prince, or magistrate glory in a nobler line of sires ? Have the Christianized Gentiles received from any other nation, such literature, such poetry, such elegant writings, such divine narratives, such inestimable treasures of divine truth, as all these which we have



received from the Jews in the gospel, recorded in the Old and New Testaments? Did any nation but the Jews give us the Saviour and Great One, who came to turn away ungodliness from Jacob, and to be our salvation to the ends of the earth? No, not one.

And they are preserved in the midst of the Gentile world as a distinct people, in order to show to all nations, the great and glorious deliverance awaiting Israel and Judah.

The following pages will show, in a succinct and popular epitome of their history, what God has done to them in his vindicating justice; and what he is beginning to do to them, in turning the hearts of foes and friends toward them, to do them good IN THE LATTER DAYS.

I commend this book to the providence of God, hoping that the Christian and Jewish readers will profit by the perusal thereof. I have only to add that I have made these additions,—namely, an Index, and a Preface, at the request of my very dear Christian friend MR. BERK, a son of Abraham, “the father of the faithful,” both according to the flesh, and according to the spiritual covenant.

W. C. BROWNLEE.

NEW-YORK, February 16, 1842.



## P R E F A C E

TO THE SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

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No one, I think, who has experienced upon his own heart the influence of divine truth, as derived from the Holy Scriptures, will hesitate to form his estimation of men according to the sacred standard. And his taste, hallowed and sanctified by piety, will give to the subjects of revelation their just weight and importance—which can be no other than the highest.

In contemplating, therefore, the nations of the earth, whatever regard he may have for classical antiquity, and whatever interest he may take in the lives, characters and pursuits of the great men of Greece and Rome, he will yet be willing to turn from them and dwell with a far higher interest on the Hebrew nation. For its worthies he will feel an attachment he cannot feel for others. Their characters are blended with the great articles of his faith, and their lives illustrate the volume which is his guide to eternity. Their history will be to him the most important. For he cannot forget that to them God was pleased to reveal Himself and His will; that of them were ‘the fathers;’ and that, above all, they were separated from the rest of the nations of the earth for the special purpose, that of them should be born the Messiah, ‘the Desire of all nations,’ as well as ‘the glory of God’s people, Israel.’

It was an eminent Jew who declared, publicly and solemnly, when questioned concerning his professed faith in Jesus Christ as this Messiah of his nation, that he taught 'none other things than Moses and the prophets did say should come.' Let this 'Hebrew of the Hebrews' be heard and believed by his 'kinsmen according to the flesh,' whose reverence for their master, Moses, is so great; and they will find that even Moses will rise in their estimation, when it is perceived and felt that 'the law,' of which he was the chosen promulgator, is 'a school-master to bring them to Christ,' their own Messiah, for eternal salvation.

The Gospel honors the founder of the Hebrew faith, then, as it does the founder of the Hebrew nation; making Abraham 'the father of the faithful,' and Moses, his distinguished descendant, the most eminent type of the Messiah, who was also 'of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh,' in whom God has united the human nature with the divine; 'for in Him,' as was foretold by Isaiah, in His appropriate name of 'Emmanuel,' 'dwell-eth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.'

When Christ then is accepted, it is, virtually, but the fulfilment of the prediction of the Jewish prophet, that 'men' of all nations 'shall take hold of the skirt of *Him that is a Jew*, saying, "We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." And hence it actually is, that, although, on account of their unbelief and sin, as Moses himself asserts, the Jews, as a people, have failed to be what their God graciously declared He was ready to make them, 'a nation of priests, a holy nation,' they have, nevertheless, even as it is, become the instruments of enlightening the world. For the apostles of

Christ, the first preachers of the Gospel, were, as well as their Lord and Master, of this highly favored race.

Now such a consideration is conciliatory. It disarms the spirit of persecution, if a real Christian can feel that spirit. And it can, at the same time, cause the reflective Jew to forgive the indignities and injuries his nation has unhappily suffered. Yet it is not to be forgotten on either side, that the Holy Book they both believe predicts these very sufferings—a prediction confirming in its fulfilment the solemn truth of God.

The spirit of the Gospel is love. And it contains the memorable assertion, 'If a man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His.' It therefore reproves and consequently disowns every unfriendly, hostile feeling, except against sin. It seeks the good, spiritual and temporal, of all mankind—particularizing 'first the Jew,' and then the Greek or Gentile. This is its golden key to open the hearts of all men. And its spirit is manifesting itself in those numerous associations which have been formed for persuading the Jews to embrace *their own Messiah*, I repeat this name, their endeared 'Emmanuel.' The professions which these associations make are substantiated by the real benefits they have conferred, and are not empty words. Actions have shown, that many Christians are desirous of wiping away the blot which for many an age disgraced the name they bear, in reference to treatment given the Jews.

This book is a proof. It appears to be written in a good spirit, friendly, loving, christian. It manifests a kind regard to the House of Israel, in the earnest desires which breathe throughout it, that Jews may embrace their promised Shiloh, as many Gentiles do agreeably to



Jewish predictions, and be happy in Him here, and forever !

A Jew, who sincerely yields himself to these benevolent desires in his behalf, and receives in faith the New as well as Old Testament, as his ancestor Abraham would have 'rejoiced' to do, must truly look on Jesus Christ with feelings far more keen than can be experienced by mere Gentile believers. Christ is literally to Jews their 'bone and flesh'—their countryman—the Hope of their illustrious fathers, on whose account themselves are 'beloved'—predicted by their own David, Isaiah, and other holy prophets of their nation—and 'precious,' not to them alone, but to 'be for salvation to the ends of the earth'—the Grand Medium of union to the whole human family.

The writer of these few prefatory remarks has had, comparatively, but little intercourse with Jews. Yet such as he has known, who have manifested a serious piety, and professed a belief in Christ, have justified, he must say, the views now expressed, and the character just described. And his earnest wish is, and his prayer, that the republication of the present volume, enlarged and enriched by his Judæo-Christian friend, Mr. Berk, may be blessed 'of the God of Israel,' not only to excite an enlarged affection toward the Jews, and an interest in their highest welfare, among Christians themselves, which is greatly desirable; but also to attract the descendants of Abraham to the faith of the Gospel, and a trust in their Messiah and King, agreeably to the cheering prophecies of their own divinely-inspired Scriptures.

WILLIAM JENKS.

*Boston, Jan. 11th, 1843.*

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# HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

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THE complete subjugation of Judea, and the destruction of the capital and temple by the Roman army under Titus, would excite very different feelings in the minds of those contemporary with the events, according to their different opinions and prepossessions. The Roman would view with pleasure the successful termination of an arduous and desperate contest, and would rejoice at the miseries endured by the turbulent as well as unsocial race, who had dared to hoist the standard of revolt, and brave the vengeance of the rulers of the world. The Jew of sterner mould would brood in moody silence over the calamities of his nation, and still, amidst the scorn and suffering to which he was exposed, would cherish the fond expectation, that at some future period, nearer or more remote, he would be able to shake off the hated yoke of his Gentile oppressor, and even revive the pristine glories of the Hebrew kings. His countrymen of feebler resolution might perhaps be inclined to purchase for himself safety, if not honor, by the renunciation of that distinctive creed, which forbade his union with the nations around; and

might be tempted to embrace some one of the various systems of polytheism, which, by their manner of permitting vice, even if they did not sanction it, showed themselves but too thoroughly in unison with the evil propensities of our corrupted nature. The Christian would deeply commiserate the calamities which had overtaken God's ancient people, but he would trace in those sufferings the awful but just punishment of their impious rejection of the Messiah; and would be led by this manifestation of Almighty vengeance, to cling the more closely to that pure and heavenly religion, which he had been enabled, by Divine Grace, to receive and maintain. And we may cherish the pleasing belief, that not a few of the suffering survivors themselves, constrained by the literal accomplishment of his predictions, to acknowledge that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed a prophet sent from God, would be led to study more attentively the records of his life and death; and thus, by the blessing of God, become attached and faithful followers of him, on whose holy character and actions they had once looked with blind prejudice and unreasoning scorn.

The victorious Roman testified his jealousy of the subjugated people, by stationing a garrison of 800 men in Jerusalem, to prevent the reconstruction of the city. At the same time, the lands of the conquered province were put up to sale, and the profits were reserved for the imperial treasury; for Vespasian, ever studious to gratify his avarice, did not follow the example of former victors, in portioning out the territory among the brave followers of his standard. Strict search was ordered to be made for any who claimed descent from the royal line of David, in order to put an end, by their execution, to

any hopes of a coming Messiah, which might yet be cherished by the conquered, but not despairing Jews. This ruthless investigation was revived by Domitian, and (as the Christians were at that time regarded as a sect of the Jews) two grandsons of the apostle Jude were brought before the tribunal of the emperor, or as Gibbon thinks more probable, before that of the procurator of Judea, upon a charge of belonging to the obnoxious lineage. They were, however, dismissed without injury, as the honest simplicity of their answers satisfied their examiner that they had no intention of asserting the rights of their birth, or in any way disturbing the peace of the empire. But this investigation could only subject a small portion of the Hebrew nation to danger or annoyance; another act of imperial authority involved the whole race in its consequences. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the most magnificent shrine of Roman idolatry, had been burnt in the civil wars between Vitellius and Vespasian, a few months before the taking of Jerusalem. It was determined to rebuild this edifice on its former splendid scale; and, in order to augment the funds for this purpose, Vespasian issued an edict, that the proceeds of the annual capitation-tax of two drachms, formerly paid by the Jews throughout the world for the maintenance of the temple-worship, should now be applied to an object which they abhorred. This was to wound their religious feelings in the most vital part, and the tribute was levied in the most oppressive manner. The Jews also shared in the miseries which afflicted the empire during the merciless reign of Domitian. He extorted large sums of money from the rich Jews of the capital, and it is probable that many of the Hebrew na-

tion fell victims to the persecution which, towards the end of his reign, he instituted against the Christians.

The accession of Nerva freed the Jews from persecution and extortion, but the capitation-tax was not removed; although the object, for which it was levied, was now accomplished by the complete restoration of the Capitoline Temple. It continued to be paid at least till the time of Origen, who flourished in the first half of the third century.

In the mean time a rabbinical school of great reputation had been established at Jamnia.\* Jewish tradition asserts that the Sanhedrim, before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem, had followed Gamaliel, its nasi or president, to Jamnia. With Gamaliel the rabbins say that the honor of the law failed, and purity and Pharisaism expired. His son and successor Simeon, having gone up to the passover, was murdered by the zealots. Rabbi Jochanan ben Zaccai, who had in vain endeavored to incline the people to peace, and had escaped the vengeance of the zealots only by stratagem, succeeded Simeon as nasi at Jamnia. The next president was a second Gamaliel, a man deeply learned in the law, but of haughty and overbearing manners, which rendered him so obnoxious that at length he was formally deposed. To supply his place, Eliezar, a young man of noble family and considerable wealth, was chosen. A Jewish fable relates that he hesitated to accept the office on account of his youth, saying that he had not a gray beard; when, to the astonishment of all around, his beard began to grow, and speedily assumed the most venerable appearance! Other schools sprung up in rivalry to that of

\* This city, also called Japhne, was situated in the tribe of Dan, near the Mediterranean Sea.

Jamnia, and in all rabbinical learning flourished. Ever since the Babylonish captivity, a body of men had devoted themselves to the assiduous study of the law, and had thus become qualified to be the expounders of it to the mass of the people. They also claimed authority as the depositaries of the unwritten or traditionary law, which, as they asserted, had been delivered by God to Moses on Mount Sinai, and was entitled to equal reverence with the Ten Commandments themselves. These doctors of the law, or rabbins, were sometimes priests or Levites, but by no means necessarily or generally so; and they became formidable rivals to the priesthood in the favor of the people. During the latter days of the Jewish polity, the office of high-priest fell into contempt on account of the frequent changes which were made in its occupants, according to the caprice of the ruling power, whether native or Roman, and the inferior priests shared in the degradation of their chief. Thus the way was prepared for the exaltation of the rabbins on the ruins of the priesthood, which ensued on the destruction of Jerusalem, and the final cessation of the Temple-worship. The rabbins had, by degrees, obtained the regulation of the synagogues and law-schools, as established throughout Judea, and other parts of the Roman empire; and by these they in some measure supplied the place of the Temple and the priesthood, now extinguished for ever, and effectually prevented their countrymen from forgetting their religion, and becoming absorbed in the dense mass of heathenism around.

In the reign of Trajan, the Jews again raised the standard of rebellion. While that prince was engaged in the Parthian war, the Jews of Egypt and Cyrene took up

arms, either galled by some fresh persecution, or impelled merely by the wish, always natural to a conquered people, of throwing off the yoke of their victors, even though by no means remarkably oppressive. The most dreadful cruelties are said to have been perpetrated by them on the Egyptians and Cyrenians. The insurrection extended to Cyprus, where, headed by one Artemio, the Jews massacred 240,000 of their fellow-subjects. But their rebellious career was speedily ended. Adrian, nephew to the emperor, landed in Cyprus with a Roman force, defeated the insurgents, and expelled them from the island, making it a capital crime for any of them to set foot in it. Martius Turbo suppressed the revolt, first in Cyrene and then in Egypt, and the rebels met with the terrible vengeance which their atrocities had provoked. Tradition affirms that 600,000 Jews perished.

About the same time a similar revolt broke out in Mesopotamia. That province had long been subject to the Parthians, and the Jews there had lived in peace, enjoying the free exercise of their religion, and galled by no obnoxious or oppressive tribute. But the victories of Trajan transferred their country to the Roman empire, and they found reasons to lament the change, probably from the exactions of the conquering soldiery, and the extension to them of that odious capitation-tax, which so severely pressed upon the religious feelings of their brethren in other parts of the empire. L. Quietus, reckoned the best general of Rome, was sent against the insurgents, with orders to expel the Jews from the whole province. He was unable to accomplish this object, though he defeated them after an obstinate resistance. Shortly after, Adrian succeeded Trajan in the empire, and aban-



done the conquests of his predecessor, deeming them burdensome rather than advantageous. Thus the Mesopotamian Jews again fell under the mild yoke of the Parthian kings.

Adrian hated the Jews, probably on account of the cruelties which they had perpetrated in Cyprus, and vented his detestation of them in an edict, which interdicted circumcision, the reading of the law, and the observance of the Sabbath. He likewise resolved to establish a Roman colony in Jerusalem, and build a fane in honor of Capitoline Jove, on the site of the ruined Temple. These acts of the new emperor provoked the Jews to another and more formidable rebellion. They found a leader of talent and resolution in an impostor, whose real name is unknown, but who is designated by his title Bar-cohab, the Son of a Star, which he assumed as claiming to be the Messiah, foretold by Balaam, "the Star that should come out of Jacob." Num. xxiv. 17. His pretensions were believed, and his cause espoused by Rabbi Akiba, the greatest of the rabbins, who, though now far advanced in years, exerted himself to swell the forces of the impostor with all the zeal and fire of youth. The insurgent army was unquestionably numerous, though we must distrust the statement of Jewish tradition, which swells it to 200,000 men. Bar-cohab made himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem, assumed the title of king, and made head successfully against Turnus Rufus, the Roman commander in Palestine. Adrian at first contented himself with sending Rufus some additional troops; but finding the war of a more serious character than he had supposed, recalled from Britain, Julius Severus, one of his best generals, and despatched him against the rebels.

Severus maintained his reputation in Judea. He avoided a general battle, but reduced the Jewish strongholds in detail, cut off their supplies, and at length made himself master of Jerusalem. Every building in that devoted city was rased to the ground, and the plough was passed by Rufus over the ruins.

After a variety of other successes, Severus formed the siege of Bither, the chief stronghold of the insurgents, respecting the situation of which authors are not agreed. It is uncertain how long this siege continued, but the garrison made a desperate defence. The town was at length stormed on the 10th of August, a day already made memorable by the double destruction of the Temple, first under Nebuchadnezzar and afterwards under Titus. Bar-cohab was slain in the assault, and his head was carried in triumph to the Roman camp. His coadjutor Rabbi Akiba was flayed alive by order of Rufus. The inferior rebels were either put to death or sold as slaves. Dio Cassius relates that no fewer than 580,000 Jews fell by the sword, besides those who perished by famine, fire, or disease.

Adrian fulfilled his intention of erecting a new city on the site of Jerusalem, and peopling it with a Roman colony. The city received the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. The Jews were forbidden to enter it, or even approach its vicinity; and, in order to gall their feelings, and thus keep them away the more effectually, the image of a hog, as we are told by Jerome, was placed over the gate leading to Bethlehem. The Christians were allowed to inhabit the new city, which became in after-times the residence of one of the most powerful prelates of the empire.

## CHAPTER II

Power of the Patriarchate of Tiberias—The Mishna and Gemara—Jews and Samaritans under Severus—Caracalla—Heliogabalus—Alexander Severus—Zenobia of Jewish descent—Princedom of the Captivity—The Babylonian Talmud—The Jerusalem Talmud—Jews in China. (A. D. 220—350.)

UNDER the mild government of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their former privileges, but they were still excluded from Jerusalem and its environs. During the reign of the philosopher Marcus Aurelius, Avidius Cassius subdued Mesopotamia, and thus brought its Jewish inhabitants again under the Roman yoke. Intoxicated by his successes, Cassius rebelled, and assumed the title of emperor, but was shortly after slain by his own soldiers. The Jews in Syria and Palestine espoused his cause, and thus provoked the emperor to repeal the favorable laws of his predecessor. But it is probable that this edict of Aurelius was either soon abrogated, or at least never carried into execution, for during a long period after this the Jews flourished in peace. The Western Jews formed themselves into a community, which acknowledged as its spiritual head Simon, son of Gamaliel, who assumed the titles of patriarch, and president of the Sanhedrim, and fixed his residence at Tiberias. The Babylonian Jews had established a pontiff of their own, whose seat was fixed at Babylon. But Simon, having previously confirmed and extended his own prerogative at home, succeeded in subjecting the Babylonian Jews to his spiritual yoke. The authority of the Patriarch of Tiberias was now admitted by the descendants of Abraham wherever resident. His apostles or legates visited the

synagogues throughout the world, to settle all differences which might arise, to receive the tribute which was levied every year in May, and to warn the people against all attempts to seduce them from the faith. The early Christian writers assert that these legates traversed the empire for the purpose of anathematizing Jesus of Nazareth and his followers. It is certain that the Jews manifested the most bitter hatred against the Christians, which they testified by exciting the rabble against them; and in particular at the death of Polycarp, by endeavoring to persuade the Roman governor to deny the martyr's body to his friends, alleging that they intended to worship him, and forsake Christ for him. Yet, doubtless, the Christians would not relax in their efforts to convert their Hebrew brethren; and these attempts would sometimes be crowned with success. The conference of Justin Martyr with Trypho proved indeed unavailing to shake the bigoted attachment of the latter to Judaism; but Hegesippus, a Christian author of the second century, was a converted Israelite.\*

Simon was succeeded in the patriarchate by his son, Rabbi Jehuda, surnamed the Holy, or the Holiest of the Holy, from the purity of his life. He is said to have been born on the day on which Rabbi Akiba died, and his admirers compared him to the rising, as Akiba to the setting sun. He collected in one code the various oral traditions, interpretations of the written law, and decisions of the learned, which had previously existed in a floating form. This code was called the Mishna, and is divided into six sections, of which the first treats of affairs of hus-

\* His works have unfortunately perished, but some fragments of them are preserved by Eusebius.

bandry ; the second of festivals and holydays ; the third of marriage and the female sex ; the fourth of commercial transactions ; the fifth of oblations, vows, etc. ; and the sixth of things clean and unclean. The Mishna soon acquired all the authority which its compiler could desire, and even to all practical purposes supplanted the Law of Moses, which henceforth remained in a mysterious obscurity, akin to that which enveloped the Bible in the dark ages of popery. But the progress of commenting was not arrested by this compilation, and a vast mass of supplementary tradition was gradually accumulated, which was afterwards embodied in the Talmuds of Babylon and Jerusalem.

The rabbinical sovereigns of Tiberias, at the first establishment of their dominion, showed a greater spirit of toleration towards the Samaritans, than had characterized the Jewish people in the latter period of their existence as a separate nation. This change in their demeanor was first introduced by the authority of Akiba, who is alleged to have formed a scheme of uniting into one firm league all who claimed Israelitish descent. But this spirit of amity soon passed away, and the rival sects resumed that hostility which had formerly so remarkably characterized them. In the contest for the empire between Severus and Pescennius Niger, the Jews espoused the cause of the former, the Samaritans of the latter. Severus punished the Samaritans by depriving them of their privileges as Roman citizens ; and rewarded the fidelity of the Jews by confirming the favorable edict of Antoninus Pius, and permitting them to enjoy various offices and distinctions, while he exempted them from the necessity of discharging functions such as those of decurions,

which were generally shunned on account of their burdensomeness. Severus persecuted the Christians, and the Jews showed themselves by no means backward to insult the hated sect of the Nazarenes. Yet, favored as they were by Severus, they were still forbidden to approach the Holy City; and Tertullian, who wrote at this period, in his *Apology for Christianity*, upbraided them as wanderers and vagabonds over the face of the earth, who were not allowed even to set foot within their native land.

Jews and Christians alike claim the honor of having furnished a nurse to Caracalla, the tyrannical successor of Severus. A rabbinical tradition asserts that Caracalla, when a child, wept bitterly when a Jewish playmate of his was whipped by order of his father. Few traces of the tender-hearted child can be found in the conduct of the fratricide emperor, who provoked the universal hatred of mankind during his execrable reign of six years. Yet it does not appear that he persecuted the Jews especially, though they doubtless shared in the general misery of the empire under his tyrannical administration.

Among the various whims which Heliogabalus displayed, while he played the fool on the imperial throne, must be classed his adoption of the Jewish customs of circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh. Yet it is said that the Jews were only saved by his death from a persecution, which must have overtaken them, on their refusal to worship his god Heliogabalus,\* whom he had determined should be the only deity adored throughout the empire.

During the thirteen years in which the wise and amiable Alexander Severus adorned the purple, the Jews

\* The emperor had taken the name of this divinity as being his priest.

as well as the Christians enjoyed his protection and favor. He placed an image of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, in his private chapel, among the persons whom he deemed worthy of divine honor. The wits of that time gave him the nickname of Ruler of the Synagogue.

The Jewish history is marked by few events from the reign of Alexander to that of Constantine. Perhaps, from the inferiority of their numbers, they do not seem to have excited that jealousy of the Roman emperors which was so frequently directed against the Christians, displaying itself by the most cruel persecutions. The Jews might derive some glory from the brief but splendid career of Zenobia, the Queen of the East, who was of Israelitish extraction; and the commercial spirit, for which they were already remarkable, would contribute to the wealth of her favorite city Palmyra. Athanasius commends this princess for her toleration of the Christians in her dominions, affirming that she never permitted the churches to be converted into Jewish synagogues; and contrasts this conduct with that of the Arian emperors, who without scruple wrested from the orthodox party their places of worship, in order to bestow them on their own heretical followers. During the reign of Zenobia, her favorite, the vain, profligate and heretical Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, is said to have endeavored to bring about a union between Judaism and Christianity; but, as might have been anticipated, his efforts were indignantly rejected by both parties; and he met with a just reward of his heartless indifference to sound doctrine, in the deposition from his see, which was soon after inflicted on him by the council of Antioch.

In the mean time, beyond the eastern limits of the empire, in the province of Mesopotamia, the Jews were in a most flourishing condition. We have already stated that the Babylonian pontiff, who took the title of Prince of the Captivity, had been obliged to acknowledge the superiority of Simon, the first patriarch of Tiberias. But this submission, which was very unwillingly paid from the first, was probably of no long continuance, and it is certain that the Prince of the Captivity speedily far outshone in splendor and authority his rival of Tiberias. He assumed much of the pomp of royalty, was inaugurated with great splendor, and maintained the stately seclusion which is peculiar to oriental princes, seldom leaving his palace except to visit the schools of the learned, which began to rival the most celebrated institutions of Palestine. The court of this Jewish prince was modelled after the fashion of his Persian master, and rabbins instead of satraps, were appointed over the various Israelitish communities. It is probable that this state was supported by a tribute levied from the Babylonian Jews, in lieu of that which in former times had been paid for the support of the Temple of Jerusalem. Many of the Mesopotamian Jews were wealthy. It is said of a Jewish merchant of Babylon, in the usual style of oriental hyperbole, that he possessed 1000 vessels on the sea and 1000 cities on land.

The splendor of the Prince of the Captivity and the wealth of his subjects, attest the peace and indulgence which the Mesopotamian Jews enjoyed during the continuance of the Parthian dynasty. Nor does their condition appear to have been altered for the worse by the revolution which took place about the year 226, by which



the Parthian line was destroyed, and Ataxerxes, a descendant of the ancient Persian monarchs, was placed upon the throne. The new monarch, indeed, not only restored the Magian religion to its former supremacy, but prohibited by an edict the exercise of every other. But the industry and commercial spirit of the Jews probably soon induced the Persian sovereign to relax the severity of his decree, in order to retain such useful subjects in his dominions. Such is the conclusion which, in the absence of positive testimony, it seems warrantable to draw from the manner in which rabbinical learning flourished and wealth increased among the Babylonian Jews in the third century. At this period, the rabbinical schools of Nahardea, Sora, and Pumbeditha, if not founded (for some assert that the two former, at least, were erected in the preceding century), at all events attained to great reputation, and, in the estimation of the Eastern Jews, were well entitled to dispute the palm even with the far-famed academy of Tiberias itself. The heads of these institutions in some measure shared the authority of the Prince of the Captivity, and their decisions were regarded with reverence by the Jewish inhabitants of Mesopotamia.

During this period of peace and prosperity it is most probable that the Babylonian Talmud\* was composed. This stupendous work was compiled by the scholars of Rabbi Asche, under his superintendence. It exacted the unremitted labor of thirty years. It consists of two parts, the Mishna, of which we have spoken above, and the Gemara or commentary. This compilation is term-

\* Talmud signifies *doctrine*, Gemara, *perfection*.

ed by Mr. Milman an extraordinary monument of human industry, human wisdom, and human folly. "The reader," he adds, "at each successive extract, hesitates whether to admire the views of profound allegorical truth and the pleasing moral apologue, to smile at the monstrous extravagance, or to shudder at the daring blasphemy. To the Jew the Talmud became the magic circle, within which the national mind patiently labored for ages in performing the bidding of the ancient and mighty enchanters, who drew the sacred line beyond which it might not venture to pass."

Previous to the compilation of the Talmud of Babylon, a similar work had been accomplished in Palestine, which received the name of the Talmud of Jerusalem. This was executed by Rabbi Johanan, with the assistance of two other Hebrews named Rab and Samuel. The Jews are not agreed about the precise period when this compilation was made. As the emperor Dioclesian is mentioned in it, it could not have been executed before the end of the third century. It is less voluminous than the Baylonian Talmud and less esteemed by the Jews. It has been supposed that the rival compilation was undertaken by Rabbi Asche and his scholars, on account of their dissatisfaction with the comparative meagerness of the Jerusalem Talmud, as well as with the barbarous and corrupted language in which it was written.

The authority of the Prince of the Captivity probably extended over the whole of the professors of Judaism scattered throughout the various provinces of the Parthian or Persian empire. But the Jews had before this time penetrated to the utmost limits of Asia, and established themselves in China. Their descendants were

found in that country by the Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century, but their number had diminished from seventy families to seven. They had no knowledge of Christ or his religion, a singular fact, which may lead us to suppose that they had originally settled in the "celestial" empire before the coming of our Lord ; as it seems unlikely that they should, even in the course of so many ages, have lost all memory of so remarkable a personage. These Jews were industrious, and much esteemed by their heathen neighbors ; some of them had even attained the rank of mandarins. They strictly observed the Sabbath, practised circumcision on the eighth day, possessed copies of the law, and intermarried only among themselves. They had no ambition of making proselytes, a circumstance which probably greatly contributed to the esteem in which they were held. Their place of worship had a Holy of Holies, like the temple of Jerusalem, in which were kept the books of the law, and into which none but the chief priest was allowed to enter. These Jews maintained the distinguishing tenet of the Israelitish creed, by cherishing a fond anticipation of a coming Messiah.

## CHAPTER III.

The establishment of Christianity as the National Religion—Edicts of Constantine—Jerusalem becomes a place of Christian Pilgrimage—Persecution of the Christians in Persia excited by the Jews—Rebellion in Palestine, and consequent decrees of Constantius—Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem—Intolerant Zeal of Ambrose—Jerome studies under various Rabbis—Remarkable conversion of Jews in Minorca—Theodosius II. prohibits the celebration of the feast of Purim—Contests between the Jews and Christians—Tumult at Alexandria—Moses of Crete—Suppression of the Patriarchate of Tiberias. (A. D. 340—434.)

LITTLE impression was made on the minds of the Jews by the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, in the person of Constantine. As their forefathers had shut their eyes to the miracles which attested the divine character and mission of our Saviour, so they would not regard it as any proof of the favor of God that the religion of the gospel was now embraced and favored by the emperor. They would think that the Almighty, for wise but mysterious reasons, had permitted a temporary victory to the hated Nazarenes, while he still cherished the descendants of Abraham, as his peculiar people, and would, in his own good time, fully recompense them for every trial of their faith and patience, by the glorious successes and lasting triumph of the long-expected Messiah. On the other hand the Christians, imbibed by previous misfortunes or intoxicated by present prosperity, would be eager to revenge on the adherents of Judaism the insults and injuries which they had so often sustained from them; sensible as they were that the zealous Israelites looked upon them as apostates from the God of Abraham, and regarded them with a fiercer abhorrence than they cher-

ished towards the most shameless votaries of Paganism. Those of them whose minds were unguided and unsanctified by a right appreciation of the spirit of the gospel, (and such, alas! have been but too many in all ages of the church,) might imagine that they were doing God service by persecuting the progeny of those unhappy men, who had with unhallowed violence demanded the crucifixion of the Lord of glory, and with a fierce and desperate fanaticism exclaimed, "His blood be on us and on our children." Hurried away by zeal without knowledge, they would forget that their blessed Lord had wept over the guilty and rebellious city itself when he thought of its approaching downfall, thereby teaching his followers that pity, not hatred, ought to be the predominant feeling in their hearts towards their Jewish brethren.

Yet the intolerant maxims of too many of the clergy and people were by no means responded to by the first Christian emperor. Constantine allowed his Pagan subjects the free exercise of their worship; and, though the far inferior numbers of the Jews would render the ill treatment of them less dangerous, he extended the same indulgence to the children of Abraham. He however deprived them of the liberty of refusing the decurionate and other burdensome offices, as this invidious distinction had excited the murmurs of his Christian subjects. Yet he gave permission to a very few, as an especial favor, to retain this privilege. He bestowed the same mark of his favor with far greater frequency on Christians. Another edict of Constantine made all Jews, who should in any way endanger the life of a Christian convert, liable to the punishment of being burnt alive. This statute shows the danger which might be apprehended from their de-

terminated hatred of the gospel; and men were not left to mere vague inferences of their intolerant temper, for the Mishna sanctioned the destruction of all who abandoned the creed of their fathers, and by the zealous Jew that code of tradition was regarded with implicit veneration. During the reign of Constantine, all Christians were forbidden to embrace Judaism under pain of an arbitrary punishment, and Jews were interdicted from possessing Christian slaves. This latter enactment, though renewed by Constantius, was repealed by Honorius, who merely required masters to give their slaves full liberty to worship God as they deemed right.

But the Jews would be still more irritated by the manner in which the Holy City was adorned by the munificence of Constantine. The name of *Ælia* had supplanted that of Jerusalem, at least among the Pagans, inasmuch that when one of the martyrs of Palestine, in the persecution of Maximin, on being asked of what city he was, answered, "of Jerusalem," neither the governor of the provinces, nor any of his assistants, knew what city he meant. But Constantine restored its ancient name, and beautified it with so many splendid edifices, that Eusebius irreverently imagined it might be the New Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. Helena, the mother of the emperor, reared the stately church of the Holy Sepulchre on Mount Calvary, thus, as it were, attesting the victory which the religion of the cross had gained over the rival creeds of Judaism and Heathenism. Christian pilgrims began to flock from all quarters of the world to the place where the Lord had taught, and suffered, and expired; and the natural feelings of reverence with which they would approach the spot of his crucifixion

were augmented by the sight of the reputed instruments of his sufferings. The age was in no small degree credulous and superstitious; and believed, with implicit faith, that the nails, the cross, the spear, and the crown of thorns then exhibited, were indeed the very means of the Saviour's agonies. This concourse of pilgrims could not but prove exceedingly offensive to the Jews.

About the same time, the Council of Illiberis in Spain made two enactments against the Jews, who were very numerous in that country. They forbade the Christians, under pain of excommunication, to eat with the Jews; and prohibited under the same penalty, the possessors of land from permitting the Israelites to offer up their usual prayer at rural festivities, for a blessing upon agriculture. They alleged that such prayers were offensive to God, and would mar the effect of the benedictions of the church.

In the time of Constantine, the Jews revenged themselves upon the Christians by exciting a furious persecution against them in Persia. The Gospel had penetrated into that country through Armenia, whose king, Tiridates, had been converted to the Christian faith. It made considerable progress, and among others, Ustasades, one of the chief eunuchs of Sapor the Second, embraced it. This provoked the Jews, who combined with the Magi against the Christians, accused their bishop, Simeon, of a treasonable correspondence with Constantine, and thus worked upon the fears of the king to order or permit a general persecution in his dominions. Ustasades was the first martyr, and the persecution was long and severe. The churches throughout Persia were in the course of it levelled with the ground.

The turbulent spirit of the Jews provoked Constantius,

the successor of Constantine, to greater severity against them. Their conduct at Alexandria, disgraceful as it was, would not indeed be displeasing to the emperor, since they joined with the Pagans and Arians in insulting the Trinitarian party, and supporting the claims of Gregory the Cappadocian, who was intruded, by the authority of the court, into the see of which Athanasius had been unjustly deprived. But their rebellious attempt in Palestine would justify, or at least excuse, the course which the emperor adopted. They took advantage of the revolt of Magnentius in the west, and the invasion of Sapor in the east, to raise an insurrection. But this was soon put down by Gallus, the cousin of Constantius and brother of Julian the Apostate; who defeated the rebels, and destroyed Dio Cesarea, their chief city, and the head-quarters of the revolt.

Constantius made it a capital crime for Jews to marry Christians or circumcise their slaves. He renewed the edict of Adrian, which forbade their approach to Jerusalem, taxed them heavily, and meditated the laying of additional burdens upon them, when he was prevented by death.

The Jews probably regarded with joy the accession of Julian, an apostate from the hated faith which had so recently triumphed. They would anticipate that a spirit of opposition to the preceding emperors, whose creed he had renounced, would of itself induce him to revoke their edicts; and their hopes would be confirmed by the loud professions of thorough toleration for all religions with which he began his reign. But their most sanguine expectations were surpassed by his favor towards them. Not only did he revoke the obnoxious decrees of Con-



stantine and Constantius, and place them in every respect on a level with his other subjects; he condescended to address a letter to their commonalty, in which he styled their patriarch his brother, expressed his regret for the ill treatment they had lately sustained, and promised that when he returned from the Persian war he would rebuild their holy city, live with them there, and join in worshipping the great God of the universe. These flattering expressions were gladly received by the Jews as sure tokens of the imperial favor; and, encouraged by them, they began in various places to attack and insult the Christians. They assembled in tumultuous mobs, and destroyed various churches in Alexandria, Damascus, and some cities in Syria and Palestine.

But Julian did not confine his favor to magnificent promises of future benefits, or connivance at the ill treatment of the Christians. Before he set out for the Persian war, he gave orders to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, vainly thinking that he would be able to falsify the prophecies of the final destruction of that building. His other projects for the suppression of Christianity, and the restoration of Paganism, had failed of the success which he expected; but he anticipated that in this instance at least he would triumph, relying on the united zeal of Heathens and Jews, who now combined in fierce and desperate opposition to the faith of the Gospel. He intrusted the execution of this design to his intimate friend, Alypius of Antioch, formerly lieutenant in Britain, and instructed the governor of the province to co-operate with him in the enterprise. The Jews eagerly assembled from all quarters to assist in a work which promised to realize their fondest expectations; the rich augmented the trea-

asures heaped up for the costly service, and the poor, unable to contribute of their substance, enthusiastically offered the labor of their hands. A vast quantity of materials was collected, and a multitude of workmen assembled. Every thing seemed to promise a successful issue to the undertaking; and the Jews, as if the work had been already accomplished, began to scoff at the Christians, and ask if they would not lend a helping hand to this glorious enterprise. Some of them even went so far as, with impious flattery, to call Julian the Messiah. Several of the Christians regarded the mighty preparations with astonishment and dismay; but Cyril, the pious bishop, remembered the prophecies of the utter and final destruction of the Temple, and felt assured that God would never suffer the impious opposition to His will to prosper. We may easily believe that, previous to the commencement of the undertaking, many fervent prayers would be offered up to the Lord by the devout members of His church, imploring confusion upon this unhallowed attempt to impugn the truth of the Gospel. These prayers were not unanswered. As the workmen were proceeding to lay the foundations, balls of fire came bursting from the ground, which scorched the men and destroyed their tools. This terrific phenomenon occurred several times, till at length Alypius was obliged, though most reluctantly, to abandon all thoughts of the rebuilding of the Temple. Such is the narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus,\* a pagan historian, who could have no motive to misrepresent the event; and who, as a contemporary and a man of great

\* Ammianus Marcellinus was at this time at Antioch, holding an office of distinction in the emperor's court. His nearness to the spot gave him ample opportunity of arriving at a knowledge of the facts of the case.

acuteness, had both the means and the ability of ascertaining the truth and avoiding imposition. Other circumstances are added by the fathers and ecclesiastical historians to the brief relation of Marcellinus, such as that an earthquake shook the hill, threw up the stones out of the foundation, and killed many of the workmen and spectators; that a violent storm of lightning disturbed and terrified the Jews in their enterprise; and that flakes of fire, in the form of crosses, settled upon the clothes of many persons present. But the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus is sufficient to prove the providential interposition of the Almighty; although the circumstances recorded by the earlier Christian authors are at least not contradictions of, but additions to, his narrative, and therefore may be believed without a bigoted credulity. When all the circumstances of the case are considered, we think that most Christians will be disposed to agree with Warburton, that this was "an occasion worthy the interposition of the Lord of all things." A Jewish historian of the fifteenth century, R. Gedaliah ben Joseph Jochaja, mentions this memorable occurrence, and insinuates that it was a mark of Divine displeasure against his countrymen for their accepting of the assistance of a heathen prince. We cannot agree with him with regard to his opinion about the reason of God's anger, but we gladly accept his testimony to the truth of the miracle; a testimony the more unsuspecting, because, as Basnage remarks, the rabbins are not wont to copy the books of Christians, and he must have been indebted for his information to independent sources.\* From the time of Julian

\* The reader, who may wish to see the evidence for and against the miracle admirably stated, is referred to the masterly and elaborate work of Bishop Warburton, entitled "Julian."

to the present day, a period of nearly 1500 years, no attempt has ever been made to restore the Temple at Jerusalem.

We know not whether the apostate would have had the impious audacity to repeat such an attempt; but he perished shortly after in the Persian war, displaying in his last moments (according to the unexceptionable testimony of his friend and historian, Ammianus Marcellinus) all the philosophic pride which led him to reject the Gospel and place a vain confidence in his own virtue.

The very short reign of Jovian afforded little time for the exhibition of his sentiments towards the Jews. The two imperial brothers Valentine and Valens, who next succeeded, maintained them in the possession of their rights; but were constrained, by the necessity of the times, to repeal one of their greatest privileges, exemption from the public service. The words of the decree are as follows: "The edict upon which the Jews flatter themselves that they are exempted from the offices of court is voided by these presents, for even the clergy are not allowed to consecrate themselves to the service of God without having previously discharged their duty to their country; and he that would devote himself to God, must first find a substitute to undertake his share in the public services."

But though the emperors themselves were sufficiently willing to protect the Jews in the exercise of their religion, and impose upon them merely their just share of the public burdens, they found it occasionally difficult to restrain the zeal of the more influential and intolerant churchmen, in an age when ecclesiastical authority had attained an alarming ascendancy. A memorable instance of this

occurred in the reign of Theodosius the Great. A synagogue had been erected in the small town of Callinicum, in the province of Osroene, on the frontiers of Persia. The bishop of the place stirred up the populace, who burnt the synagogue, together with a conventicle of the Valentinian heretics. The turbulent prelate was ordered by the governor of the province either to rebuild the synagogue or pay the damage.\* This very reasonable command was confirmed by the emperor. But the affair came to the knowledge of Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, who, from the weight of his private character, exercised an almost papal influence at the imperial court. He boldly wrote to Theodosius, then at Milan, reproving him for his edict, which he considered as impious; and asserting that he himself would have no scruple in acting, in similar circumstances, as the bishop of Callinicum had done. His remonstrance had the desired effect, and the bishop was suffered to remain unpunished for his intolerance. We may admire equally the justice of Ambrose in exacting, and the humility of Theodosius in performing, the public penance which was called for by the massacre of Thessalonica; but we must regret that, on this occasion, the pious and eloquent archbishop of Milan evinced himself so much a slave to the persecuting principles of his age.

But although Theodosius on one occasion sacrificed the interests of justice in compliance with the injunctions of Ambrose, he showed himself, at other times, mindful of the course which sound policy, as well as the true spirit of Christianity, required to be pursued towards the

\* It does not appear that any compensation was ever ordered to be made to the Valentinians.

Jews. In an edict, issued shortly before his death, he strictly forbade the Christians to plunder or rase their synagogues, and required the governors of the provinces to take care that those who disobeyed this law should be severely punished. By maintaining the Jews in the unmolested exercise of their worship, Theodosius showed them more favor than he manifested toward the Pagans, whose temples were dismantled, and whose sacrifices were prohibited; or towards the heretics, whose churches were shut up during his reign.

Ambrose, in a letter to Theodosius, accused the Jews of disloyalty, asserting that they did not think themselves obliged to obey the laws of the empire. This may have been a hasty inference from their practice of electing judges of their own religion, to whose jurisdiction they submitted their disputes. Chrysostom says that these officers were chosen annually in the month of September. These judges, acting under the authority of the patriarch, had full power to punish offenders of their community, even by the dreaded penalty of excommunication. Some Jews, thinking themselves aggrieved by the exercise of this authority, had recourse to the Roman tribunals, who enjoined the Jewish judges to receive them back into their society. The judges complained to the emperor, who relieved them from this oppressive interference with their sentences, and ordered that all disputed cases should be referred to the adjudication of the patriarch, and the chief persons of the synagogue.

Yet the Jews were not allowed to enter Jerusalem, for the edict of Adrian was revived, and guards were posted at the gates to enforce it. We are told by Jerome, that these guards used to betray their trust, and suffer-

ed themselves to be bribed by the Jews, who thus stole in to weep over the desolation of the Temple, especially on the anniversary of the destruction of the city by Titus. They seem to have never enjoyed the privilege of entering the city while it remained in the possession of the Emperors of the East.

The generality of the Christian clergy at this time were quite ignorant of the Hebrew language; but Jerome applied himself vigorously to the study of it, under various Jewish masters. The most distinguished of these was a rabbi, called Barabbanus, who came, Nicodemus-like, to him by night, in order to avoid the odium which would have been excited against him among his brethren, if he had openly given instruction to a Christian minister. Jerome's intimacy with this learned Jew was ridiculed by his adversary Ruffinus, who gave the rabbi the nickname of Barabbas. Jerome boasted greatly of his success in the study of Hebrew, and exaggerated the difficulty of the language in order to acquire the greater renown for his industry in surmounting it. He was looked up to by his clerical brethren as a prodigy of erudition.

At the death of Theodosius the Great, the Roman dominions were finally divided into the empires of the East and West. The latter empire subsisted in a state of continually increasing feebleness for about eighty years, when it was extinguished in the person of Augustulus. There are but a few edicts of those princes which have reference to the Jews. The most important of them forbid the erection of new synagogues, and prohibit them from serving in the army, probably on account of the jealousy of the Christians, who might im-



agine that the presence of Israelitish warriors would be offensive to the God of battles. Yet it may be doubted whether this latter restriction would be very obnoxious to the Jews, who were chiefly employed in trade, and in all probability shared to the full in the unwarlike habits of the time, which caused military service to be regarded as an intolerable burden. But the most remarkable event of this period, in which the Jews were concerned, was the conversion of upwards of 500 at Minorca. In the capital of that island, Magona, now Port-Mahon, the Jews were numerous and wealthy, and excited the especial attention of Severus the bishop, who earnestly desired to convert them to the true faith. The whole circumstances of the case, as related by Severus himself, present a curious picture of the superstition and intolerance of the times. The bishop was induced to hope for a successful issue to his attempts at conversion, from the arrival in the island of the relics of the martyr Stephen, which were brought thither by Orosius the Christian historian, and from a vision which appeared to him of a widow who implored him to sow her field. He interpreted this vision to mean that the synagogue, at present widowed or estranged from God, desired instruction in the Christian faith. He therefore marched at the head of his flock to Magona, where he challenged the Jews, with their leader Theodorus, a man of substance and rabbinical learning, to debate with him the points at issue between the two religions. He named the church as the place of conference. The Jews declined to meet him there, because it was the Sabbath, and they would be defiled by entering a Christian place of worship. The bishop next proposed the synagogue as the arena of de-

bate, but the Jews refused this request also, probably apprehensive that their place of worship would be defiled by the presence of the Nazarene multitude. Severus next expostulated with them for having arms stored up in their synagogue. They denied the truth of the charge, but the bishop insisted upon ocular evidence of their innocence, and set forward with his people to satisfy his curiosity. Some Jewish women began to throw stones at the Christians from the windows. This brought on a quarrel; and the Christians, probably much superior in numbers, made themselves masters of the synagogue, and destroyed it, preserving only the books of the law and the utensils of silver. They carried the former in triumph to the church, but restored the latter to the rightful owners; while no mention is made of any arms having been found. Three days after, the Jews assembled amidst the ruins of their synagogue, and the Christians also flocked thither. Theodorus made an eloquent speech in defence of Judaism, which Severus admits he was not very well prepared to answer. But an accident discomfited the Jews. Some Christians, anxious to win over so formidable an opponent as the Jewish leader, cried out, "Theodorus, believe in Christ." The Jews mistook the words, and thought that they were "Theodorus believes in Christ." Panic-struck by this unexpected announcement, they dispersed on all sides. Theodorus was left alone, and was plied with various arguments by Reuben, a converted Jew; who, among other means of persuasion, offered him honors and emoluments as the rewards of his embracing Christianity. He complied with these solicitations, and his example was imitated by many of his followers; but others left

the island rather than renounce their religion. Such is the narrative of Severus, who adds, that various miracles attended this remarkable conversion. But some embellishments is to be expected in the whole story, which merits insertion chiefly as an illustration of the manners and sentiments of the fifth century.

Making allowances for some provincial outbursts of fanatical intolerance, we may subscribe to the statement which M. Depping gives of the condition of the Jews at the extinction of the Western Empire. He says, "The Hebrew nation found itself in a sufficiently advantageous position. Their worship was respected; in everything which related to religion they enjoyed entire liberty; they observed their national customs, and had judges of their own community, whose jurisdiction extended to all matters, except those of life and death; and it appears that even these were often decided by the Jews, with the connivance of the imperial tribunals. They were in general placed on a level with the other subjects of the empire, and were excluded only from the highest dignities of the state, and from military service. Besides the profession of the law, they might devote themselves to the pursuits of commerce, industry, and letters; and, if we may judge from the complaints of the Christian contemporary writers, they displayed in their employments that ardor which has always characterized them."

In the mean time the Jews had at various times been exposed to suffering in the East, sometimes provoking persecution by their imprudence or fanaticism, at other times the innocent victims of the hatred of their enemies. About the beginning of the fifth century they excited the attention, and necessitated the interference of the emperor,

Theodosius the second, by the manner in which they celebrated the Feast of Purim, in commemoration of their deliverance from the malice of Haman. They were accustomed to erect a gibbet, on which a figure representing Haman was suspended, and treated with every imaginable mark of indignity. Sometimes the gibbet was in the form of a cross, which was, with the effigy, committed to the flames; and, at the same time, curses were uttered against the name of Christ. Such practices could not fail to irritate the Christians, and accordingly tumults occurred in various places. Theodosius prohibited the festival, which was the occasion of these unseemly disturbances. Subsequently similar tumults broke out in Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyricum, in which the Jews insulted their Christian fellow-subjects; and the latter retaliated by destroying the houses and synagogues of their adversaries, and even putting some of them to death. The emperor issued orders to Philip, the governor of the province, to see that strict justice was done, and all breakers of the law, whether Jews or Christians, adequately punished. A few years later, some drunken Jews, in the town of Inmestar near Antioch, erected a cross, and fastened a Christian child to it, whom they scourged to death. This horrible crime provoked the Christian inhabitants to fly to arms, and a desperate conflict ensued. At last the tumult was quelled by the interposition of the imperial authority, and the summary punishment of the offenders. Some time after, the Christians of Antioch, instigated by their clergy, plundered a synagogue, and impiously dedicated the booty to the service of the church. The Roman governor took the part of the Jews, and by his representations induced Theodo-

sus to order the restitution of the plunder. But the far-famed Simeon Stylites interfered as effectually as Ambrose had done in the case of Callinicum, and screened the clergy and people of Antioch from the punishment of their intolerance. If the great Theodosius yielded to the unjust request of the archbishop of Milan, some excuse may be found for him in the undeniable excellence of Ambrose's character, which procured for him the esteem and reverence of the whole western world, and lent an adventitious weight even to his worst advice ; but what palliation can we imagine for the weakness of his grandson, in listening to the counsels of a fanatical monk, whose sole claim to respect was derived from his choosing to perch himself upon the top of a column sixty feet high ?

About the same time, the city of Alexandria was the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the Jews and the Christians. The Alexandrian Jews amounted in number to about 40,000, and many of them were remarkable for wealth. The more irreligious of them used to attend the theatre on their Sabbath, instead of repairing to the synagogues. One day, a person of the name of Hierax entered the theatre, in order, as it is stated by Socrates the ecclesiastical historian, to read a proclamation recently issued by Orestes, the governor of the city, against the tumults which frequently occurred. The Jews cried out that this individual had come for the purpose of exciting a disturbance. It is probable that Hierax was well known as a man of turbulent character, for Orestes ordered him to be immediately seized and scourged, without any form of trial. Hierax was a partisan of Cyril, the archbishop of Alexandria, who regarded his punishment as an insult to himself. Being a man of fierce and

haughty temper, he resolved to interfere in a matter in which he had no concern, and sent for some of the principal Jews, whom he threatened with severe punishment if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. Instead of complying with his demands, the Jews determined to attack their adversaries. They raised a cry at midnight that the great church of Alexandria was on fire. As they anticipated, the Christians poured out of their houses in great numbers, unarmed, and eager to rescue the sacred edifice from destruction. The Jews, who had put on rings of palm bark to distinguish one another in the dark, fell upon the defenceless crowd, and slew many of them. But at daybreak, the archbishop put himself at the head of a large body of the inhabitants, attacked the Jews, killed a number of them, and expelled the rest from the city. He appropriated their synagogues to the church, and gave up their houses to be plundered by his followers.

It could not be expected that the governor would tamely allow his authority to be thus encroached upon by a turbulent ecclesiastic. He sent a representation of the affair to the emperor, bitterly complaining of the interference of Cyril. The archbishop sent a counter representation, in which all the blame was thrown upon the Jews. The people pressed him to be reconciled to Orestes, and he made an attempt, but unsuccessfully; for the governor, probably distrusting his sincerity, refused his offer. Incensed at this, Cyril called down the monks of Nitra, a fanatical band of savages, to his assistance. They eagerly came, to the number of 1500, and assaulted the prefect in the street. They loaded him with insults and reproaches, calling him an idolater, who merely

made a hypocritical profession of the true faith. He in vain assured them that he had received baptism at Constantinople. One of the rioters, named Ammonius, struck him on the head with a large stone, and covered him with blood. His guards fled on all sides, afraid of being overwhelmed by numbers; and he might have been torn in pieces by the seditious monks, if the inhabitants of Alexandria, ashamed to see their governor in such a situation, had not rescued him. The monks were driven back to their mountains, and Ammonius was executed. But Cyril caused his body to be taken up, and transported in solemn procession to the cathedral, and panegyricized him from the pulpit as a martyr, who had fallen in the service of the church. Either through bribery or bigotry, the imperial court took no notice of the seditious conduct of the archbishop, and it does not appear that the Jews obtained the restoration of their property. When we read of such transactions, we cannot but subscribe to the sentiment of Mr. Milman, who says, that "the records of the Alexandrian church present perhaps the most unchristian page in Christian history."

About twenty years after these tumults at Alexandria, an impostor named Moses appeared among the Jews in Crete. He travelled for a whole year through the island, and persuaded many of the deluded Israelites to follow him as their leader. He led them to the top of a promontory, and ordered them to cast themselves down into the sea, assuring them that the water would become dry land before them (as the Red Sea had done at the command of his great namesake), and open up for them a safe and easy passage to the promised land. Many of them were fanatical enough to obey his command, and



were dashed to pieces against the rocks, or drowned in the waves. Many more would have shared their fate, if it had not been for the providential interposition of the Christian crews of some fishing-boats which were upon the spot, and held up the bodies of the drowned to the view of the Jews, in order to convince them of the folly of their confidence in the impostor. They were at last persuaded of his knavery, and wished to revenge themselves upon him, but he had in the mean time made his escape. Many of them, won over by the kindness of the Christian fishermen, embraced the true faith.

Nearly about the same time, the patriarchate of Tiberias expired in the person of Gamaliel; who was either deprived by Theodosius\* of the honorary title of prefect, given him by former sovereigns, and thus virtually deprived of his authority; or, as some think, obliged to relinquish even the appellation of patriarch. If he retained this latter title, he left no successor to whom he might transmit it; and thus the patriarchate ended, after a continuance of nearly three centuries.

\* The ground of this imperial edict was the connivance of the patriarch at the erection of new synagogues, in opposition to the law of the empire.

## CHAPTER IV.

Wise policy of the Ostrogothic Kings of Italy—Persecuting Edicts of Justinian—Dissension between the Rabbins and the People—Simeon of Emesa—The Internal Slave-trade of Europe in the Hands of the Jews—Conduct of Gregory the Great towards them—Rebellion of Meir against the Persian King, and consequent Persecution of the Babylonian Jews—Embassy of the Jews of Palestine to Nushirwan—Taking of Jerusalem by Chosroes II., and Massacre of the Christian Inhabitants by the Jews—Recovery of the City by Heraclius.  
(A. D. 530—610.)

ON the extinction of the Western Empire, Odoacer, a barbarian general in the service of Rome, assumed the title of King of Italy. After a reign of fourteen years, he was defeated by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, and afterwards put to death by order of the conqueror. Theodoric founded a dynasty of Gothic kings in Italy. He divided a third part of the country among his victorious soldiers, but ever afterwards administered the laws with strict impartiality between Goths and Italians; and strove by his wisdom and justice to make his subjects forget that they were ruled by a barbarian monarch. Italy, during his reign, enjoyed a peace and prosperity to which it had been a stranger in the last years of the Western Empire. Theodoric was an Arian, but he tolerated the orthodox faith, and the Jews shared the blessings of his wise administration. He told them, indeed, that they seemed far more anxious for temporal prosperity than for eternal blessings; but he judiciously endeavored, by his impartial government, to assist them in acquiring the former; and did not, like many bigoted princes before and since, attempt by unjust and unwise

persecution to force them to embrace that creed, which he believed to be the only means of obtaining the latter. He repressed the forward zeal of the Christians at Rome, Milan, and Genoa, where the Jewish synagogues had been plundered or burnt; and commanded restitution to be made to the sufferers. His prudent maxims were probably adhered to by his successors; for we find that when Belisarius, the general of the Emperor Justinian, invaded Italy, the Jewish merchants of Naples stirred up the inhabitants of that city to make a desperate resistance to the Roman army. The siege lasted twenty days; and the Jews, who defended the quarter next the sea, fought with especial bravery. But a secret passage into the city was pointed out to Belisarius, and a chosen body of his troops made good their entrance at the dead of night. The Roman general is said, by some authors, to have given strict orders that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared; but other writers affirm that a general massacre, without regard to age or sex, took place; and if these accounts be correct, we may be sure that especial cruelty would be shown towards the Jews, as the authors of that resistance which had detained the army so long before the walls of Naples. Though Belisarius was recalled by Justinian before he had completed the conquest of Italy, he obtained an able and enterprising successor in Narses, who destroyed the Ostrogothic kingdom in 553, twenty-seven years after the death of Theodoric its founder.

The Neapolitan Jews had but too good reason to make a fierce resistance to the Roman arms, for the condition of their brethren in the Eastern Empire was anything but favorable. The uncle and predecessor of Justinian,

Justin the elder, issued an edict, which prohibited all unbelievers, whether Heathens, Jews, or Samaritans, from exercising the functions of the magistracy; alleging as a reason, that it was indecorous to allow such persons to pass sentence upon the Christian clergy or laity. The Samaritans had in some measure provoked this severity by more than one instance of sedition, of which the inhabitants of their chief city, Sichem or Neapolis, had been guilty; but neither the Heathens nor the Jews appear to have in any respect forfeited the character of loyal and peaceable subjects. The edict of Justin was far surpassed in severity, by the various decrees which his nephew issued against the Jews and Samaritans. Justinian had paid considerable attention to the study of theology, and he was desirous to bring the whole empire into conformity with his religious opinions. "He was, in effect," as Milner has remarked, "the pope as well as the emperor of the Roman world." But unhappily the means, which he adopted to secure the prevalence of orthodox Christianity, were often of the most questionable kind. He endeavored to coerce his subjects into the true faith. He hunted out those who still, with more or less secrecy, adhered to Paganism, and forced them to receive baptism. Seventy thousand are said to have been thus forcibly obliged to profess Christianity in Asia Minor. He constrained the heretics to embrace orthodoxy, or leave the imperial dominions. An obstinate congregation of Montanists were burnt in their conventicle, whither they had retired for protection. But the most refined and systematic persecution was directed against the Jews and Samaritans. The latter people were goaded by the oppression they sustained into a desperate rebellion, in which

they were headed by one Julian, who appears to have been a false Messiah. They ravaged the country with fire and sword, destroyed the Christian churches, and slew or shamefully insulted the clergy. A Roman force being sent against them, they were routed in a well-contested engagement, their leader slain, and themselves massacred or sold as slaves. A hundred thousand persons are said to have perished in this revolt. Such of the Samaritans as survived, and escaped slavery, chose to make a profession of Christianity, rather than have their property confiscated. They still, however, continued in secret to practise their ancient faith; and this transpiring, was forbidden by an edict of Justin the younger, the nephew and successor of Justinian.

As the Jews are the more immediate subjects of this history, the enactments of Justinian with respect to them require a more explicit mention. He sent orders to the governor of Africa to prohibit the performance of Jewish worship, and to apply their synagogues to the service of the church. The most remarkable consequence of this edict was the conversion of the Jews of Borium, a strongly situated city on the frontiers of the Pentapolis, where there was a splendid temple or synagogue, said to have been built in King Solomon's time. This ancient edifice was now changed into a Christian church.

The above-mentioned edict appears to have related only to Africa. But in other parts of the empire the Israelites were subjected to many oppressive enactments. They were forbidden to celebrate the Passover on any other day than that on which the Christians observed Easter. It appears that the calculations of the Jews and Christians differed, and consequently their festivals were

seldom held on the same day. The Jews were also forbidden, under severe penalties, to eat the paschal lamb; but this was a piece of ignorant malice, for the custom had been abandoned since the destruction of Jerusalem. But there were other decrees more arbitrary than these. Justinian forbade the admission of Jewish evidence in lawsuits between Christians and Jews, or between different Christians; their testimony was only received when both plaintiff and defendant were Israelites. He further enacted, that when the parents differed in creed, the chief authority should remain with the one who professed the true faith; so that, if the father was a Jew, and the mother a Christian, the latter would be intrusted with the education of the children. Jewish parents were prohibited from disinheriting, or refusing maintenance to those of their offspring who should embrace Christianity; and were even obliged to portion their daughters according to the good pleasure of the prefect or the bishop, who were thus selected as guardians to the fair proselytes. The Christian children of unbelieving parents were to be entitled to whatever portion of the inheritance would have been awarded to them if their parents had died intestate, and all wills which obstructed this enactment were abrogated. Even gross acts of filial delinquency did not deprive the children of the pecuniary benefits of conversion; for, though they might be punished for their disobedience, they were still entitled to a fourth part of the property.

In the reign of Justinian, a dispute arose between the rabbins and a considerable portion of the commonalty of the Jews. The former wished to retain the Hebrew language in the reading of the Law, and the expositions

made in the synagogue. The latter, who had been gradually losing their knowledge of and reverence for the original language of the Old Testament, desired that Greek translations might be used in their places of worship. The rabbins endeavored, by argument and menace, to prevail upon the refractory people to desist from their demands, but in vain; and at length the matter came before the emperor by appeal. He decreed, that those who preferred a Greek version to the original Hebrew writings, should be indulged in their wishes; and recommended that the Septuagint translation should be used, but did not interdict the reading of any other. He strictly prohibited the use of the Mishna in public worship, characterizing it as a worthless incentive to superstition. He further forbade the rabbins to throw any obstacles in the way of those who preferred the Greek to the Hebrew tongue, on the pain of corporeal punishment and confiscation of property. He concluded his edict by enjoining the careful reading of the Scriptures, as a means of improvement in moral and religious knowledge.

Justinian doubtless expected that his decrees would have the effect of converting many to the Christian faith; but their oppressive nature, and the insulting language in which they were couched, would unquestionably irritate the feelings of those against whom they were directed, and prevent them from thinking well of a religion whose professors exhibited themselves thus in the light of persecutors. But the superstitious habits of the age induced men to receive with implicit belief the tales of prodigies, which were wrought for the conversion of the Jews, and which are said to have powerfully co-operated with the imperial edicts. Absurd as these stories are, we



may insert one as characteristic of the feelings of the times. There was a person of the name of Simeon at Emesa, who was regarded as a saint, although he exhibited very sufficient marks of insanity. His favorite employment was running up and down the streets, lashing the pillars, saying, "this is for dancing," because there had lately been an earthquake in that part of the country. This eccentric personage one day watched a Jewish glassblower working at the furnace. The man attempted to make a glass, but the material formed itself into the shape of a cross, which instantly broke in pieces. Seven times he repeated the experiment, and seven times he made crosses, as brittle as before. Simeon told him, that he would never succeed in his attempt until he made the sign of the cross. The Jew, afraid that he would starve unless he complied with the injunction, made the required sign, and immediately recovered his former skill in glassblowing. He continued in the profession of a religion so powerfully recommended to him. A more foolish story assuredly is not to be found in the legends of popery, or the traditions of rabbinism.

Yet it would be unjust to suppose that truly legitimate means of conversion were not used toward the Jews. Even amidst the gross and despicable superstition which was gradually overspreading Christendom, there were still many noble examples of genuine piety and zeal; and it cannot be doubted that, wherever these existed there would be an earnest desire and endeavor to bring over God's ancient people to the true faith, by the appointed means of preaching and prayer. Christian doctrine had by this time become debased by superstitious additions, and Christian practice had been still more alarmingly

perverted from scriptural holiness ; but the grosser delusions of popery were yet unknown, and formality was not in the sixth century by any means universally substituted for heartfelt devotion. Among the bishops of the smaller sees, the inferior clergy, and the middle and lower classes of the laity, there unquestionably still remained many examples of persons who held fast the essential truths of the Gospel, and evinced their right appreciation of them by lives of consistent godliness ; thus, so far as in them lay, counteracting the evil effects but too likely to flow from the secularity of the wealthy ecclesiastics and the irreligion of the princes and nobles. And we may surely hope that as, even in the darkest age of the Church, the Lord Jesus has still had his humble and holy followers, so their pious precepts and evangelical lives may have been from time to time blessed as the means of bringing over to the one true faith some of the hated and despised outcasts of Israel.

Among the few truly devout men who, during this period, filled the great sees of the empire, none was in every respect so remarkable as Gregory of Rome, the first and best of his name. Gibbon, no friend to religion or its ministers, is compelled to confess, that this bishop, from the wisdom and equity of his rule, " might justly be styled the father of his country." The protection which he showed to others he wished to extend to the Jews, whom too many, who professed and called themselves Christians, deemed it excusable, or even meritorious, to persecute by every means in their power. As an instance of his desire to act impartially between Jews and Christians, we may mention the following incident. A newly converted Hebrew, who seems to have embraced more of the form than the substance of Christianity, put himself at the head of a

band of zealots, and forced his way into the synagogue on Easter-day. He there set up a cross and an image of the Virgin Mary. The magistrates of the town condemned this violence, and the bishop, to whom the youth applied for countenance, refused to grant it. Gregory commended the just discernment of the prelate, and enjoined him to rebuke the officious convert, without paying any regard to the excuses which he might offer on the score of zeal. He likewise ordered that the cross and image should be removed from the synagogue, and the Jews left to the peaceful exercise of their own worship.

At this time the internal slave-trade of Europe—a horrid traffic which had been much increased by the irruptions of barbarians—was chiefly in the hands of the Jews. We may easily conceive that this merchandise in human flesh would prove a source of savage satisfaction to their revengeful spirits, as giving them in some measure a triumph over those who had so often insulted and oppressed them. The vicissitudes of the times might throw into the hands of the Jew the nearest relatives of the proud prelate or haughty noble, who had in former days of prosperity regarded him with looks of scorn, or assailed him with words of bitter reproach. He would feel a malicious pleasure in returning gibe for gibe, or repaying blow for blow; or in reminding his wretched victims that, if he treated them well, it was from no good will to them, or reverence for their creed, but solely that they might bring a higher price at the slave-market. And it may as readily be believed, that the Church would look with abhorrence on this traffic, which so often threw its members into the power of the unbelieving Israelites. Council after council exclaimed against the trade, or en-

deavored to mitigate the harshness of the treatment which its unfortunate victims received from their Jewish masters; who sometimes refused fair prices for their slaves, in order to retain them in bondage, and at other times attempted, by various means, to induce them to renounce the Christian faith. Gregory exerted all his vast influence to suppress the slave-trade, and to protect Christian slaves against their Jewish masters. To effect the former purpose he wrote to Thierry and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, and to Queen Brunehaut, impressing upon them the necessity of putting down a traffic which gave such scandal to the Church. To accomplish the latter design, he recommended the application of the funds of the Church to the purpose of redeeming such slaves as wished to embrace Christianity; and, considering the serfs of Jewish agriculturists as bound to the soil, he ordained that those masters, who abused their right by seeking to transport them to another part of the country, should forfeit all property in the slaves thus oppressed. He learned that the Samaritan merchants at Catana in Sicily were accustomed to purchase heathen slaves for the purpose of circumcising them, and bringing them up in their religion. Upon this he wrote to Leo, the bishop of the city, enjoining him to investigate this affair with the utmost strictness; and, if he should find that the circumstances of the case were such as they were reported, to take the unhappy victims under the protection of the Church, and give the masters no compensation. The laws of the empire inflicted the punishment of death and confiscation of goods upon masters who circumcised their slaves; and Gregory instructed the bishop of Catana to enforce the execution of this severe enactment. It is im-

possible to justify the cruelty of this law, or the attempt of Gregory to carry it into effect; but some slight excuse may be found for him in the imperfect views of toleration to which even the wisest and best men of that age had attained. He sought to allure the Jews into the Church by milder, if equally questionable methods. In one of his letters to his receiver of taxes in Sicily, he orders him to remit a third or a fourth of the regular imposts to those Jews who should embrace the Christian faith. He acknowledged that persons who should be induced to renounce their religion by such means might not prove very good Christians; but he added that, even if they did not, their sons at least would be brought up in the true faith, and thus the one or the other would be gained. It is strange that the good bishop did not see, that if the fathers proved venal hypocrites, the sons were not very likely to imbibe favorable sentiments of a religion which they saw professed but not believed. And, indeed, the whole transaction but too closely resembles the subsequent proceedings of that apostate Church, which would fain claim Gregory as one of her brightest ornaments; and which has never scrupled to swell the numbers of her proselytes, by the use of the most deceitful as well as the most sanguinary means.

But if the bishop of Rome on this occasion forgot that the Gospel condemned all doing of evil that good might come, he showed himself at other times well aware of the only kind of attempts at conversion on which it can be expected that the blessing of God will rest. Peter, bishop of Tarragona in Spain, had countenanced the zealots of his diocese in their annoyance of the Jews, who had been driven from their synagogue while celebrating some of

their festivals. Gregory wrote to Peter, strongly condemning this conduct; and reminding him, that the preaching of the Gospel was the true method to bring the deluded Israelites to a sense of the error of their ways. In the same spirit he addressed a letter to the bishop of Marseilles, of which the following is an extract: "If a Jew is brought to the baptismal font by compulsion, not by the sweetness of the word, returning to his former superstition he dies in a worse state than that from which he seemed to be converted. Preach frequently to the Jews, that they may desire to be changed through the love of what they hear. Thus your desire of saving souls will be accomplished, and the convert will not return like the dog to his vomit. Preach, that their dark minds may be enlightened, and that, under God, they may be brought to real regeneration." It is to be hoped that this sound advice was not thrown away, and that the Holy Spirit vouchsafed a blessing on the preaching of the word to the unhappy descendants of Abraham.

In the mean time, the Jews in the Persian dominions had been subjected to more than one persecution. Nor did external oppression secure internal unanimity. A feud broke out between Hunah, the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, and Chanina, the chief master of the schools. These were the temporal and spiritual heads of the Persian Jews. The former had married a daughter of the latter. The Resch-Glutha attempted to encroach upon the privileges of his father-in-law, by interpreting the Talmud in his presence. Chanina resisted this intrusion into the rabbinical office; but his unnatural relative ordered his servants to pluck out Chanina's beard, and then cast him forth. All the inhabitants of

the city were forbidden to supply him with food or shelter. The unhappy rabbi sat down and wept bitterly. But his misfortunes were not unavenged, for a pestilence broke out in the prince's family, which destroyed every member of it. The royal line would have been extinguished, had not Chanina's daughter, the widow of the prince, been with child. A vision which appeared to Chanina, terrified him at the thought of the desolation which he had brought upon the line of David; and disposed him to watch with the utmost anxiety until his daughter was safely delivered of a son. He took the utmost care of the education of the child, whom he named Zutra. Meanwhile a person of the name of Paphra bought the dignity of the prince, and enjoyed it till the rightful heir had reached his sixteenth year. Zutra then applied to Kobad or Cabades, the king of Persia, for the possession of a dignity which was his by birth. The king complied with his request, and degraded Paphra; who is said to have soon after died from the effects of a violent fit of sneezing, brought on by a fly entering his nose, and universally regarded as a punishment for his simoniacal usurpation of an office to which he had no title. Zutra reigned twenty years, and was at last involved in the calamities which an impostor called Meir brought upon the community of Babylonian Jews. This enthusiast pretended that he had seen the pillar of fire, which had appeared by night to the Israelites in the wilderness. He conceived that the re-appearance of this mark of Almighty favor authorized him to go forth as a leader of the chosen people. He collected a band of 400 men, and rebelled against the Persian monarch. But Cabades put down the insurgents, slew their leader,



and hanged both Zutra and his grandfather Chanina, suspecting them of a secret participation in the fanatical attempt of Meir. Many of the Mesopotamian Jews fled from their native land; and it is supposed that some of them even wandered as far as the coast of Malabar, where their descendants exist at this day. Zutra, the son of the murdered prince, escaped to Palestine, where he became the president of the Sanhedrim. A ridiculous story is told of Cabades by some monkish historians, who allege, that the king besieged a castle full of immense riches, but guarded by devils. Having in vain tried all the usual methods of taking this fortress, Cabades summoned before him some votaries of all the various religions which prevailed in his dominions, in order to see whether they could not effect by their sacred rites, what he had fruitlessly attempted by the resources of the military art. The Magians, the Manichees, the Jews, successively failed in the endeavor to dislodge the demons; but the Christians dispossessed them by the use of the sign of the cross. The king, it is added, overjoyed at obtaining the wished-for spoils, conferred several privileges on the Christians, and favored their bishop with many marks of his esteem. More authentic history informs us, that Cabades persecuted the Christians as well as the Jews.

Shortly after the murder of Zutra and Chanina, Cabades died, and was succeeded by his son Chosroes, or Nushirvan. During his long reign of forty-eight years, the Jews by no means enjoyed much prosperity. Their academies were shut by his orders, and a check was thus given to the progress of rabbinical learning. Yet such was the discontent excited among the Jewish inhabitants

of Palestine by the arbitrary decrees of Justinian, that it is said that they sent deputies to the court of Chosroes, who influenced that prince to break off a negotiation with the Romans, and make preparations for a war with the empire. These ambassadors offered to assist the Persian monarch with 50,000 men, if he would invade Palestine; and excited his avarice by the glowing description which they gave of the immense riches of Jerusalem. On their return they deservedly met the death of traitors. Chosroes was never able to reach Jerusalem, for his progress was checked by the military skill of Belisarius, who was recalled from Italy to the defence of the East. The Palestinian Jews were thus disappointed in their hopes of being delivered from the galling yoke of Rome. Chosroes was succeeded by his son Hormisdas. He was a weak and vicious prince, in every respect the reverse of his father; but he allowed the Jews to re-open their academies, and a new order of rabbins, called the *Gaonim*, or *Illustrious*, began to flourish. After a disgraceful reign of eleven years, Hormisdas was dethroned and murdered; and Bahram, or Varanes, the most distinguished of the Persian generals, ascended the throne in defiance of the rights of Chosroes, the son of the late king. The Jews espoused the cause of the usurper, and in consequence felt the vengeance of Chosroes; who, assisted with a Roman army by the Emperor Maurice, defeated Bahram, and forced him to fly into Tartary. There was a town called Antioch, built by Chosroes the First, in imitation of the Syrian city of that name; and peopled with its inhabitants, whom the Persian prince had made prisoners in his invasion of the Roman empire. This Antioch was taken by Mabodes, the general of

Chosroes, and its Jewish inhabitants were either massacred or enslaved.

The Emperor Maurice, with his whole family, was murdered by Phocas; who assumed the purple, and sent to inform Chosroes of his accession. Whether influenced by ambition, or by real detestation of his crimes, the Persian sovereign refused his alliance; and attacked the Roman empire, alleging, that he sought to avenge the death of Maurice on the usurper. To give the better color to his proceedings, he carried about with him an impostor, who pretended to be a son of Maurice, and affirmed that he had found means to elude the vigilance of the assassins. The Jews of Palestine were prepared to welcome the advance of Chosroes, for the persecutions of Phocas had provoked them to a rebellion, which was suppressed in a most sanguinary manner. Accordingly, when a detachment of the Persian army, under the command of Carusia, the lieutenant of Chosroes, entered Palestine, it was joined by the Jews in great numbers. Some accounts swell their force to 26,000 men. Galilee and the region beyond the Jordan were subdued by the invaders, who next pressed on to the attack of Jerusalem. The city was taken by assault, and given up to plunder. The churches were especially rich, and as Gibbon has said, "the devout offerings of 300 years were rifled in one sacrilegious day." The Jews had now an opportunity of visiting that Holy City, which for so long a time they had been unable to enter except by stealth, and at the hazard of their lives. While their Persian allies were engaged in plunder, they were employed in butchering the Christian inhabitants, whom they regarded as unhalloved intruders into the place once consecrated by the

especial presence of Jehovah. It is affirmed, that 90,000 Christians were massacred on this occasion. Perhaps, in the intoxication of triumph, the Jews might imagine that they would enjoy a long season of prosperity under the sway of the Persian king; and even dream that the temple, which they had unsuccessfully attempted to build in the time of Julian, would be reared in its ancient glory under the happy auspices of Chosroes. If they entertained any such visionary hopes, they were speedily disappointed. Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, successively fell into the hands of the conqueror; and, for a short period, he possessed an empire as extensive as had ever been subject to any of the old Persian kings. He even advanced to the Thracian Bosphorus, and encamped in sight of Constantinople. Heraclius, who had slain and succeeded the tyrant Phocas, now humbly sued for peace. The haughty victor replied, that he would never grant his request till he abjured his crucified God, and consented to adore the sun. But finding it impossible to reduce Constantinople, he at last agreed to make peace with the Roman emperor, exacting a tribute of the most oppressive kind. Heraclius had hitherto displayed a character remarkable for nothing but voluptuousness; but the danger and disgrace to which the progress of the Persian arms had exposed him, roused him from his lethargy, and he broke through the dishonorable treaty which his distress had extorted from him. Chosroes had impiously defied the Majesty of Heaven; and He, who had miraculously destroyed the host of Sennacherib, now interposed providentially to arrest the progress of one whom success had rendered as arrogant as the Assyrian monarch. By the military skill of Heraclius, and the

disciplined valor of his troops, the lately lost provinces were recovered; and the Christian inhabitants, whom Chosroes had persecuted, gladly returned under the sway of a sovereign of their own religion. The war was even carried into the heart of Persia; and as Chosroes obstinately refused to listen to offers of peace, he was murdered by one of his own sons, who ascended the throne, and immediately entered into a treaty with Heraclius. The Roman emperor returned in triumph to Constantinople; and the following year made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he rebuilt the Christian churches, and restored them to their former splendor. The bloody fanaticism of the Jews might have excused a more severe punishment than that which Heraclius inflicted, by re-enacting the edict of Adrian, and thus again excluding them from that much-loved city which they had revisited for so short a period.

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## CHAPTER V.

Jewish Kingdom in Arabia Felix—Wars of Mohammed against the Jewish Tribes—Subjugation of Palestine, and Conquest of Jerusalem by Omar—Downfall of the Persian Kingdom—Severe Persecutions of the Jews in Spain—Isidore of Seville—Various Councils of Toledo—Treatment of the Jews in France—Avitus of Clermont—Chilperic and Priscus. (A. D. 610—710.

WHILE the Romans and Persians were thus contending for the mastery of the world, that people whom they both perhaps equally despised, if they did not always equally oppress, maintained possession of an obscure but fertile region, remote from the scene of sanguinary con-

fict. It is not very well known from what quarter the Jews came, who settled in Arabia Felix ; but it appears to be established by good historical evidence, that a colony of them had fixed their residence there, upwards of 100 years before the birth of our Saviour. They founded an independent kingdom, known in history as that of the Homerites. Little that can be considered as authentic is related of this kingdom. One of the Homerite sovereigns is said to have made offerings to the famous temple of Mecca, called the Caaba. But this story carries on the face of it its own contradiction ; for the Caaba, now the chief resort of Mohammedan pilgrims, was at that time the head-quarters of Arabian idolatry, and a worshipper of the true God would never have countenanced the impious adoration paid to the host of heaven. An equally absurd tale is told by a monkish writer, that Gregentius, bishop of Thephai in Arabia, had a dispute with Harbanus, a Jewish doctor, in the presence of the Homerite king and a very numerous assembly. All the reasonings of the bishop proved unavailing ; but our Lord appeared himself in the midst of the company, and, as a punishment of their unbelief, struck all the Jews present with blindness. Harbanus was now convinced of the truth of Christianity, and requested baptism with his followers, upon which they all recovered their sight. Five thousand five hundred were converted on the spot ; and the bishop proceeded through the kingdom, to baptize the multitudes who everywhere flocked to embrace the true faith. The king is said to have been a Christian before the conference ; and he now felt himself strong enough to issue an edict, prohibiting the profession of Judaism on the

pain of death. He made Gregentius his virtual prime minister, doing nothing without his advice throughout the remainder of his reign. The legend adds, that his son and successor, Sordidus, showed himself equally zealous, and equally submissive to ecclesiastical influence.

More authentic history informs us that Christianity penetrated into Arabia under different forms, orthodox and heretical, but that the Homerite king and nation maintained a steady attachment to Judaism. It does not appear that the Arians in any measure suffered for their heterodox dogmas; but the Catholics or Trinitarians felt the consequences of their connection with Ethiopia or Abyssinia,\* whence they had passed into Arabia Felix. Abyssinia was at this time a powerful kingdom; and one of its princes, Eles-baan or Caled, an enterprising warrior, much celebrated in the poems and legends of his country, invaded the region of Homeritis, and after defeating Dunaan, the Jewish king, made him his tributary. Dunaan resolved to avenge the ignominy of his submission upon his Catholic subjects, although they had no connection, save community of faith, with his Abyssinian conqueror. He massacred all whom he could get into his power; and besieged Negra, their principal town, with a large army, said to have amounted to 120,000 men. He summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and renounce their faith, which they refused to do. They, after some time, capitulated, on condition of the free exercise of their religion; but the treacherous prince violated the terms without scruple, whenever

\* Christianity had been introduced into this remote region in an orthodox form, under the auspices of Athanasius, who consecrated Frumentius, the first bishop.



the gates were thrown open to him. He was mean enough to cause the bones of Paulus, the bishop of Negera, to be dug up and burnt; and cruel enough to put to death Areth or Aretas, the Christian leader, with a number of clergy and laity, because they would not embrace Judaism. It is probable that such of the Christians as escaped implored the protection of the king of Abyssinia; who, in the following spring, again invaded Arabia, and defeated Dunaan, who lost his kingdom and his life. With him terminated the Jewish Homerite dynasty. Abrahah or Abraham, the son of a Roman merchant, and a Christian, assumed the royal dignity. He made an alliance with the Emperor Justinian, and paid him a small tribute. His endeavor to found a Christian dynasty was unsuccessful; for after reigning a few years, he was defeated near Mecca by Chosroes the First, and Arabia Felix was reduced into a province of the Persian empire. In this condition it remained till the time of Mohammed.

When the Arabian impostor conceived the idea of founding a new religion, he sought to attract the Jews and Christians to his standard, by acknowledging the prophetic powers of Moses and Christ; but only those impious renegades, who wished for a plausible pretext to renounce their faith, would for a moment be allured by such means to think favorably of the Koran and its author. It is said that some of the Jews were at first inclined to support the pretensions of Mohammed, and even to look upon him as the long-expected Messiah. But a better acquaintance with the doctrines which he taught, convinced them that he was an impostor who had no claims to divine authority; and Mohammed, in the

contest which he was obliged to wage in Arabia for safety or for power, found fierce opposition from them. He first attacked the Kainoka, a tribe who dwelt in Medina, and offered them his usual alternative of Islamism or war. They replied, that they were men of peace, and wished to be left to pursue their usual avocations undisturbed; but added, that they were not prepared to renounce their faith, and if they were attacked, would defend themselves with the desperation of men fighting for their dearest rights. They fled to a neighboring fortress, where they held out for fifteen days, when they were obliged to capitulate. Mohammed, enraged to meet with opposition from men whom he despised as unwarlike, was about to order a general massacre; but was prevailed upon by Abdallah, one of his most powerful followers, to spare the lives of his captives. He, however, plundered them of their substance, and obliged them to retire to the frontiers of Syria. Mohammed next attacked the tribe of Nadhir, who had provoked him by an attempt at assassination. Their citadel, three miles from Medina, defied his efforts so long and obstinately, that he granted its garrison the most favorable terms, permitting them to depart with all the honors of war. The bravest and most desperate of the enemies of Mohammed were the Koreish, an Arab tribe, from one of the families of which he was himself sprung. The Jews of Nadhir joined their forces to those of the Koreish, and the confederate army, amounting to 10,000 men, besieged the false prophet in his capital Medina. He prudently declined a general engagement with a host much superior in numbers to his own; but his followers successfully signalized themselves in various skirmishes, and, after a siege of twenty days, a storm of

wind and rain destroyed the tents of his enemies. They were now obliged to retreat, and dissension was artfully sown among them by the emissaries of Mohammed. Scarce had they retired, when the indefatigable impostor led his troops against the Jewish tribe of Koreidhâ. They held out in their castle for twenty-five days, and then surrendered at discretion. They expected to find mercy from the victor; but he left the decision of their fate to an aged and venerated follower of his, Saad the son of Maadh. He pronounced against the men the sentence of death, and adjudged the women and children to slavery. Mohammed exclaimed that God himself spoke by the mouth of Saad, and hastened to carry his sanguinary decree into effect. Seven hundred Jews were massacred in the market-place of Medina, and this butchery is recorded with savage exultation in the Koran. The followers of Mohammed obtained a rich plunder of sheep and camels; but a store of offensive and defensive arms was of more service to men whose occupation was warfare. The Jews of Khaibar, a fertile district to the southeast of Medina, were the last to be subdued. They had eight castles, supposed to be impregnable; but the enthusiasm of the Mussulmans triumphed over every obstacle, and, after a more or less gallant resistance, every one of these fortresses was taken. The Arabian historians relate wonderful things of the exploits which Ali, the cousin of Mohammed, and afterwards caliph, performed in this war. He is said to have lifted the gate of a city, which eight men could not move, and to have used it as a shield! In this war, also, a Jewish woman is stated to have administered poison to Mohammed; but its action appears to have been remarkably slow, as he survived

the fatal dose for about five years. The Jews of Khaibar, who survived the contest, were allowed, during the lifetime of their conqueror, to remain in their native land; but the caliph Omar caused them to be transported to Syria, assigning as a reason for their removal the dying command of Mohammed, that only the Mussulman creed should be professed in Arabia. The lifetime of Mohammed was spent in the subjugation of Arabia, but under his immediate successors his religion was extended far and wide by the usual instrumentality of conquest. Candid Christian writers must acknowledge, with shame and sorrow, that the professors of the true faith had, by their profaneness and indifference, forfeited all claim to the protection of the Almighty, and justly deserved the terrible scourge which now afflicted them. In the very year of Mohammed's death, the troops of Abubeker, his successor and the first caliph, invaded Syria. The forces of the Roman empire were routed in the field, the strongest cities were either taken by assault or surrendered to enemies who were believed to be invincible, and at length the Saracen host made its way to the walls of Jerusalem. The holy city resisted their efforts four months; and, at the end of that time, the inhabitants obtained honorable terms of capitulation. Omar, who had succeeded Abubeker in the caliphate, went in person to ratify the conditions, and receive the submission of a city which is venerated by the Mussulmans in a degree inferior only to Mecca and Medina, the scenes of Mohammed's birth and burial. Omar erected a mosque on the spot where Solomon's temple had stood; and although this profanation of their holiest ground could not but prove a source of deep sorrow and mortification to the Jews, yet they

would rejoice at the humiliation of the Christians, who had so long oppressed them. They might now revisit and inhabit Jerusalem, on the payment of a tribute to the conquerors; and this was far preferable to the galling enactment of the Roman emperors, which rendered it a capital crime for any of them to be seen within the walls. To the Jews dispersed through the provinces of the Roman empire, which fell a prey to the Saracens, the change of masters could not be otherwise than joyful; for an easy tribute was substituted for the oppressive system of decrees, to which they had since the time of Justinian been subjected.

Nor were their brethren in the Persian dominions likely to mourn over the contemporary series of conquests, which subverted the Sassanian dynasty, and overthrew the religion of the Magi. After a succession of feeble princes, who occupied the throne each but for a few months, Yezdegerd, or Isdegerdes the Third, the grandson of Chosroes the Second, became king of Persia. He persecuted the Jews throughout his dominions, took away their synagogue, shut up their academies, and put many of them to death. But his power of oppression was of short duration. In the very year of his accession, the Saracens invaded his kingdom, defeated his armies in various battles, and in a few years reduced the whole of Persia. Yezdegerd was obliged to skulk in a remote province, where he was at length discovered and slain by a detachment of Mussulman troops. With him ended the race of Sassanian princes, who had ruled Persia for about 400 years. The Jews were now restored to the privileges of which they had lately been deprived, and had reason to rejoice at the change of

masters which they had experienced. Their schools were re-opened, and rabbinical learning again lifted up its head. A Jewish tradition even asserts, that such was the favor which the caliph Ali showed towards the Jews, that he married a daughter of the last Persian king to Bostenai, then Prince of the Captivity. This story is, however, contradicted by Arabian history, which informs us that the two daughters of Yezdegerd were married into the family of the caliphs,—the one espousing Hassan, the son of Ali, and the other becoming the wife of Mohammed, the son of Abubeker. The latter account is the more probable, as the more consonant to the general policy of conquerors.

The Mohammedan arms continued successfully to advance, and in a comparatively few years the whole north of Africa had transferred its allegiance from the Roman emperor to the Saracen caliph. Amrou, the general of Omar, took Alexandria; and among the various particulars by which, in a letter to his master, he attested the magnitude and wealth of the conquered city, he stated that there were in it forty thousand Jews.\*

From Africa the Mohammedans passed into Spain. The Jews in that country were especially ready to welcome their approach, on account of the cruel treatment to which they had been subjected by the Christian kings. The Visigoths had conquered Spain in the fifth century; but their religion was Arian. Recared, towards the close of the sixth century, established the orthodox Trinitarian faith; but unhappily commenced against the Jews

\* About this time, an anchorite, named Cosmus, is said to have labored much by writing to convert the Egyptian Jews. He also sent various of his followers to preach to them, but we have no certain account of the success of these pious efforts.

a persecution which recalls to our minds the horrors of the Inquisition. The Spanish kings have in general but too faithfully trodden in the footsteps of their predecessors; and in no country has the progress of the religion of the cross been more retarded by the atrocities which have been perpetrated under the color of its insulted and prostituted name. The Jews at the time of Recared were numerous and industrious, employed partly in the cultivation of the soil, and partly in the management of the finances; and it is not improbable that their reputation for wealth, which was so fatal to them in the middle ages, had even thus early induced their jealous rulers to oppress them. Recared forbade them to possess Christian slaves, and proclaimed all such slaves to be free. But his successor, Sisebut, in other respects a moderate prince, went far beyond this. He is said, on insufficient authority, to have been excited to persecution by the Emperor Heraclius. Be this as it may, he ordered all his Jewish subjects to renounce their faith, or quit Spain. According to their own traditions they assembled in the court of the palace, and obtained an audience of the king. They endeavored to convince him of the iniquity of his decree; and among other arguments they told him that Joshua did not compel the Canaanites to embrace Judaism, but contented himself with requiring them to observe the seven Noachic precepts. In making use of such an argument, they must have reckoned largely upon their royal auditor's ignorance of Scriptural history. Sisebut remained inflexible; and many of the Jews, rather than renounce their religion, fled into the neighboring countries. Those who chose to remain, or found it impossible to escape, were treated



with the utmost cruelty ; they were punished with scourging, imprisonment, and confiscation. To escape from these inflictions, a number made a profession of Christianity ; and if we may believe a Spanish historian, 90,000 were baptized. Yet it is probable that many of them soon abandoned a faith presented to them in so unattractive a form ; for a curious document has been preserved, which contains the solemn promises of a number of relapsed Jews to live in a more Christian manner in future. They declare, “ that they will have no further intercourse with the unconverted Jews ; that they will relinquish the use of Hebrew customs ; that they will not intermarry with their unbelieving brethren ; that they will be faithful to the doctrines of the Gospel ; that they will do nothing contrary to the Christian faith ; and that, if any of them violates this agreement, the rest will burn him, stone him, or place his life and property at the disposal of the king.”\* Suintilla, the son and successor of Sisebut, was dethroned by Sisenand, who summoned a council of the clergy at Toledo, in order to confirm, by their exhortations, his subjects in their wavering allegiance. This council (known by the name of the fourth council of Toledo) was presided over by Isidore, archbishop of Seville, a man remarkable for piety and zeal. It complied with the wishes of the king, and enjoined all his subjects to yield him a ready and cheerful obedience. It likewise made several enactments with regard to the Jews. Isidore, in his history of the Goths, had condemned the violent proceedings of Sisebut ; and it may have been in a great measure by his

\* This document is by some writers referred to a later period.

influence that the council condemned all attempts at forcible conversion, declaring that men can be truly Christianized only by gentle and persuasive methods. Yet the council did not feel itself warranted to annul what had been done; it further proclaimed that the Jews baptized by order of Sisebut should be obliged to remain in the Church, alleging as a reason that the holy name of God would be blasphemed, and the true faith vilified, if they renounced their baptismal vows. It likewise ordained, that converted Jews, in order to prevent the danger of a relapse, should be separated from their families (if these still continued obstinately attached to Judaism), and constrained to live among Christians. Yet however inconsistent these enactments may appear with their previous condemnation of forcible conversions, the annals of Spanish councils are so full of the most ferociously intolerant decrees, that we are glad to find Isidore and his clerical brethren even on one occasion expressing the genuine sentiments inculcated by the gospel of peace. Feeble and flickering as their light may seem, it is the only exception to the general darkness.

Suintilla the Second ascended the Spanish throne in 636, and the sixth council of Toledo summoned in his reign praised him for his persecuting zeal, and ratified the decree of banishment which he had pronounced against all the Jews in his kingdom.\* They further enacted, that every king in future should, at his accession, take an oath to tolerate in his dominions no other faith than the Catholic. When Wamba was raised to the throne in 672,

\* Such a decree, if rigidly obeyed, would have saved the kings and councils all further trouble about the Jews. But the distractions of the kingdom, and the frequent succession of sovereigns, rendered it impossible to carry these laws into effect.

as he owed his elevation in a great measure to the good services of the clergy, he willingly took the prescribed oath, and issued an edict, that all unconverted Jews should leave the kingdom. A great number of them passed the Alps, and entered Septimania, a southern district of France, subject to the Gothic kings of Spain. In this province of the Gothic kingdom they were better received than they could have expected, for the Spanish yoke pressed heavily on the Septimanians, and the common feeling of oppression would draw Christians and Jews more closely together. Septimania revolted; and Paul, a Greek by birth, the commander of the Gothic forces, placed himself at the head of the insurgents. He next assumed the title of king; but his royal dignity was but of short duration, for Wamba speedily passed the Pyrenees, reduced Nismes, where Paul had fortified himself, and again subdued the province to the Gothic yoke. We are not informed of the consequences which this unsuccessful rebellion had on the condition of the Jews, who had formerly settled in Septimania, or who had recently fled thither. The former had previously been treated with more indulgence than their Spanish brethren, perhaps because the Visigothic dominion was less firmly established in that frontier province which they inhabited; but it is not improbable that Wamba, exasperated by the recent revolt, might endeavor to carry into effect in Septimania also the cruel and impolitic decree, which he had pronounced against the Jews of Spain.

It was under the reign of Ervig, the successor of Wamba, that the twelfth council of Toledo was held. This council has deservedly become infamous for the severity of its enactments against the Jews. Every unhap-

py Israelite was subjected to the punishment of 100 lashes on the naked body, as well as banishment and confiscation of goods; not merely for blaspheming the name of Christ, or breaking the Christian Sabbath, but even for observing any of the Jewish festivals, or neglecting to come themselves and bring their children and dependents to baptism. The making any difference in meats was punished with the same merciless rigor; and it was deemed a merciful provision, that new converts were not forced to eat swine's flesh if their nature revolted against it. Marriage was forbidden, except upon condition that both the parties should become Christian; the reading of Jewish books was strictly prohibited; the strictest *surveillance* over the Jews was to be exercised by the bishops. The Jews were excluded from offices of trust or authority, even down to those of overseer and house-steward. Various other enactments equally oppressive were made by this council; which took effectual means to make them public, by requiring all bishops and clergymen to communicate them to the Jews within their respective dioceses and parishes. For systematic persecution, the twelfth council of Toledo may vie with any of its successors, even in the bigoted country where it was held.

A very few years after, the same king, Ervig, ordered Julian, archbishop of Toledo, to write against the Jews. He endeavored to persuade them of the truth of Christianity, by showing how strikingly the prophecies of the Messiah were fulfilled in our Lord; and by arguing that the destruction of the temple, the extinction of the priesthood and sacrifices, and their own dispersion throughout the world, showed clearly that the Mosaic ritual had come to an end. We know not that his writings had much influ-

ence upon the minds of his opponents; nor indeed was it to be expected that they would listen calmly or favorably to the arguments of an influential member of that ecclesiastical body, which was constantly occupied in enacting or executing the most oppressive laws against them for the exercise of their religion. The bigoted Spanish priesthood did not reflect, that their persecuting spirit was as displeasing in the sight of God as the obstinate unbelief which they charged against the Jews; and did not remember, that all men are too prone to judge of a faith, not by its intrinsic merits, but by the conduct of those who make a profession of it. The ungodly lives of nominal Christians have always presented a formidable obstacle to the conversion of the Jews; but when, as in Spain at this time, to a melancholy departure from the purity of evangelical doctrine and practice, there was added the fiercest temper of intolerance, what wonder could it be, if few Israelites were really won over to that one true faith, which secures to its sincere believers alike peace in this world and in the world to come?

In the reign of Egica, the next king of Spain, the Jews were accused of holding a secret correspondence with their brethren in Africa, now enjoying toleration under the sway of the Mohammedans; and of having formed a conspiracy to subdue and massacre the Christians. Another council was held at Toledo; and the bigoted and terrified ecclesiastics enacted, that all the Jews who should be convicted of a share in this plot should be sold as slaves, and their children brought up in the Christian faith. Witiza succeeded Egica in the kingdom, and deemed it wise to attempt to recall the Jews, who had fled from the rigorous edict of his predecessor, by proclaiming

that their religion would be freely tolerated, and themselves restored to every right and privilege of citizenship. But, even if the intolerance of the all-powerful clergy would have suffered this prudent decree to be carried into effect, a very short time was allowed for its operation, for a few years afterwards Witiza was succeeded by Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings.

A few years after the commencement of his reign, the Saracens invaded Spain, defeated Roderic, who was drowned in his flight from the fatal field of Xeres; and subdued under their sway the whole peninsula, with the exception of the small and mountainous district of the Asturias, which might justly boast of alone maintaining its religion and independence. When the Arabs were invited into Spain, and actively assisted in its conquest by so powerful a Gothic nobleman as Count Julian, it can excite little surprise if the oppressed Israelites not merely secretly hailed the approach of the invaders, and regarded them as their deliverers, but openly co-operated with them in attacking their Christian enemies. If any where in the peninsula it might have been anticipated, that they would be especially likely to rise against their masters, it would have been at Toledo, the headquarters of intolerance, whence so many persecuting edicts had been dispersed through the length and breadth of the land. And accordingly we are told by a Spanish annalist, that they introduced the Arabs into that city upon Palm-Sunday, while the inhabitants had gone in procession to a church without the walls; and that they assisted the infidels in a general massacre of the Christians, when they returned home unsuspecting of danger. Be this as it may, they had good reason to rejoice at

their deliverance from Gothic tyranny, and they lived in peace and plenty under the milder rule of their new masters.

The Jews in France were regarded with scarcely more favor than their brethren on the other side of the Pyrenees; and they owed their safety, in a great measure, to the manner in which that country was divided among the descendants of Clovis. As the sovereigns of the different Gallic kingdoms, always rivals and often enemies, did not act in concert, if persecuted in one state they might find refuge in another. Besides, the weakness of many of the Merovingian princes prevented their intolerant edicts from being carried into effect; and the industrious Israelites found their sojourn among the idle and half-savage Franks too profitable, to think of leaving their habitations, unless absolutely constrained by necessity. But it was not only the persecuting spirit of their sovereigns which they had to dread; they met with an intolerance equally fierce, and probably more effectual, in the zeal of councils and individual bishops. In that priest-ridden period, the clergy frequently intruded into the office of the civil magistrate; and thus we find various French synods, in the sixth and seventh centuries, forbidding the Jews to intermarry with Christians, excluding them from functions of trust and emolument, and making many other invidious distinctions between them and the professors of the dominant faith. As an instance of the misdirected zeal and extensive influence of the bishops of that age, we may mention the proceedings of Avitus of Clermont with respect to the Jews. This prelate had at various times endeavored to persuade them to renounce their creed, but always without



effect. He had also on one occasion restrained his flock from a general massacre of them, which they were ready to perpetrate on seeing an insult offered by a too zealous Israelite to a new convert. On Ascension-day, however, the people (as if they imagined that their unchristian violence would be grateful to their risen Saviour) ran to the synagogue and destroyed it. The bishop, whether really approving of this conduct or not, thought that the terror, with which it was likely to inspire the Jews, might prove a means of inducing them to abjure a faith, for which they were exposed to such harsh treatment; and sent a message that they must either embrace Christianity, or leave the city, adding, that he did not wish to force them to receive the Gospel, and therefore submitted the choice of two alternatives. The Jews refused to yield, and shut themselves up in a large building, along with their wives and children. The populace surrounded this edifice, their fury increased every moment, and they threatened to force the doors, and put every Jew to the sword. Despairing of being able to resist so ferocious a mob, the Jews now sent a messenger to the bishop, requesting him to release them from their perilous situation, and promising to comply with his desires. Avitus hastened to the place, calmed the rage of the multitude, and received the submission of the trembling Israelites. They were baptized, to the number of five hundred, on the following Whitsunday, in the presence of a great number of the inhabitants of Clermont and its neighborhood; who crowded to witness a spectacle so unusual, and, as they probably deemed it, so glorious. The philosopher may deride the folly, the devout Christian must lament the profanity, of such forcible and superficial conversions.

It appears that kings sometimes endeavored to gain converts from Judaism by other means than those of violence. We are told by Gregory of Tours, that King Chilperic, assisted by the episcopal historian himself, reasoned with a rich Jew, his banker or jeweller, a man of great influence at court. The name of this wealthy Israelite was Priscus. He was not really convinced by the arguments of the king and his clerical coadjutor; and, trusting to the favor which his royal master had hitherto shown him, he did not even make an external profession of Christianity. Some time after, he was assassinated while going to the synagogue, by a Jew who had lately turned Christian, and wished to signalize his zeal for a religion which he had embraced but not understood. The murderer took refuge in a church; and according to that iniquitous custom, which turned the house of God into an asylum for criminals, for the present escaped punishment. But some time afterwards, the family of Priscus, despairing of getting the assassin legally condemned, took an opportunity of putting him privately to death. The whole story is a curious illustration of the manners of the time.

Dagobert the First was the Merovingian sovereign who treated the Jews with the utmost cruelty. Having obtained the hearty concurrence of his clergy, he issued an edict requiring all the Jews in his dominions to profess Christianity, or betake themselves to other countries. Thus under the first French dynasty their condition was always precarious, and sometimes intolerable; but a better order of things arose for them, as for their fellow-subjects, in the reigns of the second or Carolingian race of sovereigns, who shortly after supplanted the feeble and unworthy descendants of Clovis.

## CHAPTER VI.

Golden Age of Judaism—Kingdom of Khazar—Flourishing Condition of the Jews under the Caliphs of Bagdad—Anan and the Caraites—Leo the Isaurian and other Byzantine emperors—Favor showed to the Jews by Charlemagne and Louis le Debonnair—Agobard of Lyons—Caliphs of Cordova—Rabbinical Learning flourishes in Spain—Lives and Writings of Aben Ezra and Maimonides—Skill of Jewish Physicians. (A. D. 660—1171.)

THE period of history, which we now approach, has been by Mr. Milman felicitously termed the golden age of the modern Jews. "To them," we borrow his eloquent language, "the Moslem crescent was as a star, which seemed to soothe to peace the troubled waters on which they had been so long agitated. Throughout the dominions of the caliphs, in the East, in Africa, and in Spain; in the Byzantine empire; in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor and successor, who, under Divine Providence, restored vigor and solidity to the Christian Empire of the West, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mohammedanism; everywhere we behold the Jews, not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendor and opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and Mohammedan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns. This golden age was of very different duration in different parts of the world; in the East it was before long interrupted by their own civil dissensions, and by a spirit of persecution which seized the Moslemite sovereigns. In the Byzantine empire we are greatly in want

of authentic information, both concerning the period in question and that which followed it. In the west of Europe it was soon succeeded by an age of iron. In Spain the daylight endured the longest,—to set in deep and total darkness.”

Before we enter, however, upon the consideration of this period of Jewish prosperity, we may remark, that according to rabbinical tradition, there was about this time a kingdom to the west of the Caspian Sea, where Judaism was the established religion, though all other creeds enjoyed the most ample toleration. The name of this kingdom was Khazar. But, as there is very much of absurd fable in the account which the Jews themselves give of this realm, and as it is not mentioned by contemporary writers, we deem it better to pass it over with this slight allusion, and return to more authentic history.\*

The Persian and Mesopotamian Jews enjoyed a long season of peace and prosperity under the caliphs, first of the Ommiade, and afterwards of the Abasside dynasty. Their academies of Sora and Pumbaditha were renowned for learning, and attracted scholars even from the far distant country of Spain. The race of doctors, called Gaonim or Illustrious, formed a sort of literary aristocracy, who assisted or controlled the Prince of the Captivity in the exercise of his authority. Shortly after the accession of their dynasty, the Abisside caliphs began to distinguish themselves by their love and patronage of learning, and bestowed their favors upon its votaries without distinction of country or creed; seeking to at-

\* It is but fair to mention, nevertheless, that the more recent historians of the Jews have believed that some truth lurks under the legend of the kingdom of Khazar.

tract to their court all, who were remarkable for acquirements in science or literature. In this truly princely munificence the Eastern Jews shared. The Caliph Almanon, one of the most splendid and successful princes of his race, caused the most valuable of the Jewish books to be translated into Arabic, an honor which they shared in common with the finest productions of Grecian philosophy. Plato and Aristotle would have smiled, if they had seen the volumes, which were deemed worthy to be placed side by side with their works in the royal library at Bagdad; and would have alleged, that the barbarian sovereign's zeal for learning was more fervid than discriminating. The doctors of the Mohammedan law looked with dislike on the conduct of their prince, and regarded with equal contempt the nervous style of the Stagyrice, and the wildest fictions of rabbinical tradition.

But, though the Mesopotamian academies flourished, and became distinguished, at once for the science of their teachers, and the numbers of their scholars, they were not always the scenes merely of peaceful study and rabbinical lore. Divisions sometimes broke out among the doctors, and unseemly spectacles of strife and hatred were afforded to the gaze of their Mussulman and Christian opponents. The most remarkable of these dissensions, with regard to its consequences, was that occasioned by Anan, a rabbin of great abilities. This man, according to Jewish authorities, being offended, either by his being deemed unworthy of the principedom of the captivity, or by his being refused admittance into the number of the Gaonim—for traditions differ as to the precise cause of his displeasure—revived the opinions of the Caraites,

and made himself a most formidable adversary to rabbinical power. The name Caraites\* signifies *textualist*, and was given to the sect who bear it by their rabbinical opponents, as a term of reproach. They have been called the Protestants of Judaism, because they adhere closely to the written Scriptures, and totally reject the vast mass of traditions by which the rabbins have obscured the lustre of the sacred books of the Old Testament. Their adversaries accuse them of being founded by Anan, about the year of our Lord 750; but they trace their origin to the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity, or even still higher, to a period before the destruction of the first temple. They agree, however, that their opinions were almost extinct, when Anan brought them into notice by his ability and activity. Anan was persecuted by the Babylonian rabbins, and retired with his followers to Palestine, where for a time the Caraites maintained their opinions in peace and obscurity. We shall find afterwards, that fierce contests ensued at a later period between them and the rabbinical Jews, who, to this day, denounce them as heretics, in the same manner as the Papists anathematize the adherents of a purer creed.

In the Byzantine empire, "this golden age" of Judaism appears to have been less peaceful and prosperous

\* This name was first given the Jews about thirty years before Christ, when, upon the dissension betwixt Hillel, the president of the sanhedrim, and Shammai, the vice-president, by which their respective scholars were listed into two parties, betwixt whom there were perpetual contests, those that were of the opinion of the Caraites sided with the school of Shammai, and those who were zealous for traditions with the school of Hillel. Nevertheless, though the name *kurraim* be thus modern, the sect boasts of their high antiquity; for they say they are the followers of Moses and the prophets, as they undoubtedly are on account of their adhering to the scriptures, in opposition to human traditions.

than elsewhere. Various monkish writers have accused the Jews of exciting the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, to that uncompromising warfare which he waged against images. They say that two Jews came from Persia (where their brethren had lately induced the Caliph Yezed to turn iconoclast) into Isauria, which was a province of Asia Minor. Tired with their journey, they sat down to rest beside a fountain. A young peasant, who was driving an ass laden with petty wares, came and sat down beside them. They looked at him attentively, and astonished him by predicting that he would one day be made emperor; adding, that it would greatly become him to exert his imperial power against the daily and flagitious infraction of the second commandment of the law, practised by those who adored the images of the saints. The prediction and the advice sunk alike into the mind of Leo; and, when the former was accomplished, he zealously endeavored to carry the latter also into effect. This tale is, however, inconsistent with the known facts of Leo's life; and is especially contradicted by the well-ascertained circumstance, that after he became emperor, he persecuted the Jews. We know that the veneration paid to images, by certain corrupt portions of the Christian church, has always proved an especial hinderance to the reception of the Gospel by the Jews, and one cause of their more bitter hatred to the professed followers of Christ; and, with their zealous detestation of the constant violations of the second commandment, it is not wonderful if they found much pleasure in profiting by the edicts of the iconoclastic emperors, and melting down images, or otherwise converting them to what their votaries would term profane purposes.



Among the various calumnies which have been recorded by the monkish historians against Constantine Copronymus, the son and successor of Leo, it has been alleged that he was a Jew, solely because, like his father, he was a determined enemy of image-worship. The Emperor Nicephorus the First has, by the same writers, been branded with Judaism, because he tolerated the Jews; and Michael the Stammerer, for the same reason is termed by Zonaras, with as little sense as delicacy, "the common sewer of all religions," as if the liberty of conscience, which he allowed to the different sects, had been the result of his borrowing somewhat from each of their creeds, in order to make up an elastic religion of his own.

If our knowledge of the state of the Jews in the Eastern empire be scanty, our information respecting their condition in Italy is more meager still. We, however, may conclude, that the silence of history with regard to them, is occasioned by the peace which they enjoyed.

In France the Jews enjoyed under Charlemagne the most liberal toleration, and amply shared in the general prosperity which characterized his long and successful reign. Complaints were made to him of the conduct of various ecclesiastics, who were accustomed to sell or pledge, to Jewish merchants, the rich vessels and vestments belonging to the church. A weak or superstitious monarch would have screened the iniquitous clergy, and punished the far less guilty Israelites; but Charlemagne acted otherwise, and merely forbade, under severe penalties, the disposing of the goods of the Church in so indecorous and irreverent a manner. Various Jews enjoyed the especial favor of this great prince. When he deter-

mined to send an embassy to the caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, he made choice of Isaac, a Jew, as his emissary; probably because none of his Christian subjects possessed a knowledge of the languages of the East. The Arab physician of the Western Emperor had a Jew as his pupil and assistant. This person, whose name was Far-rag, translated into Latin a medical treatise which his Arabian instructor had composed for the use of the court.

Well may a modern historian exclaim, "How many crimes would have been spared, if all sovereigns had imitated the wise policy of Charlemagne towards the Jews!" That wise policy, however, was continued under the reign of Louis le Debonnair, Charlemagne's son and successor. The Jews indeed became so powerful, that their favor was courted with rich presents even by princes and nobles. In every respect they were placed upon a level with their Christian fellow-subjects. If any dispute arose between a Christian and a Jew, three persons of each religion were to be chosen as arbiters, who should settle the matter amicably; if their efforts were unsuccessful, the case was to be laid before the emperor, or deputies appointed directly by him. All provincial governors and magistrates were strictly enjoined to give the Jews full liberty to pass from town to town with their goods, and were even forbidden to exact any toll or custom from them. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from baptizing the slaves of Jewish masters without their permission. The Jews were exempted from the ordeals of fire and boiling water, and from the punishment of scourging, except in cases where their own laws required it to be inflicted. The chief and confidential adviser of Louis was his Jewish physician, Zedekiah.

His influence over the emperor was ascribed to magic,—of his skill in which the most extravagant tales are told by the monkish writers. He is said one day to have amused the court by swallowing a man, whose hands and feet he had cut off, and afterwards restoring him to life again!

We are told that the Christian inhabitants of France, disregarding altogether the edicts of former kings and the canons of former councils, lived in habits of the utmost familiarity with the Jews; that they took part in their festivals, attended their synagogues, and even preferred the discourses of the rabbins to the homilies of their own clergy. But the most remarkable proof of the influence which the Jews enjoyed at this time is afforded by the failure of the attempts of Agobard, bishop of Lyons, to revive the sentiments with which they had been regarded in a former age. This prelate witnessed with shame and grief the prosperity which the Israelites enjoyed in his city, where they possessed the most regular and sumptuous edifices. He first endeavored, by pastoral addresses to his flock, to put a stop to that intercourse between them and the circumcised, which he deemed so scandalous. The Jews considered these episcopal admonitions as infringing on their privileges, and complained to Louis, who sent orders to Agobard to give them no disturbance. The bishop wrote a letter to the emperor, justifying the part he had taken, and accusing the Jews of many flagitious practices. The most criminal of these was their selling Christian slaves to the Spanish Moors. He complained that he was an object of enmity to the Israelites and their partisans at court, for no other reason than his zealous endeavors to put an end to this notori-

ous and nefarious traffic. This accusation at least deserved a rigorous inquiry. But Agobard had already injured his influence at court by the favor which he had shown to the rebellious sons of Louis, and he now marred the effect of his really just complaints by the importance which he at the same time attached to the most frivolous circumstances; and his letter produced no effect. He endeavored, in an audience of the emperor, to induce him to assent to his views, but here also he entirely failed; and, accordingly, in his correspondence with his friends, he vents all the angry feelings of a man, who has witnessed the dearest wishes of his heart repeatedly and completely blasted.

Louis le Debonnair was succeeded by his son, Charles the Bald. Under his reign the Jews enjoyed almost as much favor as under that of his father. They paid indeed into the royal treasury a tenth part of their gains, while their Christian fellow-subjects paid only an eleventh; but their great industry would prevent them from suffering much by this somewhat invidious distinction. It was by a Jew, named Judah, probably his banker or treasurer, that Charles sent a present of ten pounds of silver to the cathedral of Barcelona. In the letter to the magistrates of that city, which accompanied the donation, he mentions the testimony which Judah had given him of the devotion of the Barcelonese to his person. Zedekiah, the physician of Louis, continued in favor at the court of his son; and is said to have been bribed, by some discontented nobles, to administer poison to his sovereign. After the reign of Charles the Bald, the kingdom of France was rent into petty principalities, which owned, or scarcely owned, a nominal subjection to

the representative of Charlemagne; and was ravaged with scarcely any resistance by the Normans, who were at this period the terror and the scourge of almost every state in Europe. It was an age of turbulence and misery; and though history is almost silent with regard to the Jews, it is to be feared that they shared largely in the sufferings of their fellow-citizens. They were accused of favoring the descents of the Normans; and such a charge, however ill founded, would probably be but too readily made the pretext of legal oppression by princes, and lawless persecution by turbulent ecclesiastics or disorderly mobs.

It must be a subject of sorrow and shame to a sincere Christian to reflect, that such has been the perverse manner, in which superstition in Spain has blasted the benefits of that religion, which is in itself the most favorable to civilization, that the period of most true and lasting prosperity, which that unhappy country has enjoyed, was while it continued subject to the sway of the Moors. It must be no less a cause of heartfelt regret to remember, that in no country, whether under the Visigothic kings who preceded the Mohammedan conquest, or under the modern sovereigns who have reigned since the Christian faith was once more re-established throughout the peninsula, has the pure and peaceful Gospel been so dishonored by its persecuting professors, or rendered by their unworthy conduct more repulsive to the unbelieving Jew. The descendants of the Spanish Israelites must look back upon the period of Mussulman sway, as the time in which their forefathers enjoyed a peace and prosperity, of which the children of Abraham have partaken neither before nor since. It is customary to consider the brilliant age of

the kingdoms of Cordova and Granada, as a sort of *oasis* amidst the barren wilderness of darkness and ignorance which Europe then presented ; and one of the chief means, by which the splendor of those sovereignties was acquired and preserved, was the liberal toleration which was granted to all religious sects. Could we forget the deadly delusion of a false faith by which they were spell-bound, we might think with undisturbed delight upon the wise and beneficent policy which long characterized the Spanish Moors, and deservedly raised their dominions to such a height of prosperity. We can at least recount with satisfaction, that in Spain the Jews enjoyed a true and long continued " Age of Gold." They were indeed sometimes harassed, and on one or two occasions underwent even the severity of persecution ; but the worst that they had to endure was mercy itself, when compared with the savage intolerance of the Visigoths.

We have no very distinct information of the condition of the Jews in the first years of that magnificent dynasty, which Abderrahman, the only survivor of the Ommiade race, founded at Cordova, in rivalry and opposition to the Abasside caliphate of Bagdad. We merely know that they shared in the general prosperity of the Moorish realm. They became renowned for industry and wealth ; and the unfortunate circumstances, in which their eastern brethren were placed by persecution, gave them an opportunity of acquiring distinction in learning also. The caliphs of Bagdad departed from the wise policy of their predecessors, and persecuted the Babylonian Jews ; they abolished the princedom of the captivity, shut up the schools, and dispersed the teachers. One of the most learned of these doctors, Rabbi Moses by name, with his

son, Hanooch, or Enoch, fell into the power of a Spanish pirate. They were brought to Cordova and ransomed by a Jew, who knew not their distinction, but took compassion on them as evidently of Israelitish extraction. Rabbi Moses one day entered the synagogue, in the mean attire suited to his poverty; but showed such profound knowledge in the discussion of the questions which were started, that Nathan, the head of the Jewish community, declared that he would willingly abdicate his office in favor of the stranger. Moses was accordingly chosen in his room, and became the founder of a school, which rendered Spain as famous for rabbinical learning as Palestine or Mesopotamia had ever been. Till his time the Spanish Jews had paid little attention to the study of the Talmud, but now it was prosecuted with the utmost ardor. Besides the great academy of Cordova, smaller schools were established at Granada, Toledo, and other cities of Spain, and were soon crowded with enthusiastic scholars. Rabbi Moses was succeeded by his son Enoch; but after his demise, Samuel Halevi, a Spaniard by birth, became the head of the Cordovan school, and is by many writers deemed the founder of European rabbinism, as his two predecessors were of Asiatic lineage. The Caliph Hakem caused the Talmud, or more probably a portion of that voluminous work, to be translated into Arabic; either to satisfy his own curiosity about a work so highly venerated by the rabbins, or to diffuse the knowledge of it more generally among his Jewish subjects, of whom many were altogether ignorant of Hebrew. He intrusted the execution of this task to Rabbi Joseph ben Schatnes, who, according to some, was a pupil of Rabbi Moses, and the learned rival of his son Enoch; but is said to



have rendered himself so unpopular among his countrymen by his quarrels with the latter, that he was obliged to leave Spain, and retire to Damascus, where he died in exile. A vast number of learned men adorned the Jewish community, at this period of prosperity under the Moorish sway. They cultivated every branch of literature and science that was then in vogue, distinguishing themselves in theology, medicine, astronomy, and poetry; Several of their works have been printed and translated into Latin, or the chief vernacular language of Europe; many more remain in manuscript among the literary treasures at Paris, Rome, and especially the Escorial. The prayers of Moses ben Ezra, and the hymns of Sche-lomo ben Gabriel ben Juda, are still in use among the German Jews. By far the most illustrious of the Jewish *literati* were Aben Ezra and Maimonides. Of these two great men we may speak somewhat more in detail.

The time of Aben Ezra's birth is not very well ascertained, some placing it in 1099, others bringing it down to 1119; he was a native of Toledo. He was surnamed by his countrymen Chakam, or the Wise, on account of his extensive erudition. He seems to have cultivated most branches of learning which were then studied, and distinguished himself in philosophy, astronomy, medicine, grammar, and poetry. A great number of his works exist in manuscript, scattered up and down the great libraries of Europe. Some of them have been printed; of these the subjects are very various, from a treatise on the stars to a poem on chess. But it was to the interpretation of the Scriptures that he especially devoted himself, and in it he obtained the highest reputation. Before his time, the Jewish commentators had distin-

guished themselves by the fancifulness of their interpretations, and had exerted all their ingenuity in discovering allegories in the plainest passages of Holy Writ. Aben Ezra saw the absurdity of this method of interpretation; and resolved to adhere to the literal meaning of Scripture, whenever a metaphorical signification did not, by the very nature of the case, at once suggest itself. On this principle he constructed his commentary, which is written in a clear and elegant style, and of which the chief fault is an occasional excess of conciseness, which renders his sentiments somewhat obscure, and necessitates a fuller explication of them. His work has been of great use both to Jews and Christians; and the numerous translations and editions, which have been published, sufficiently attest the high estimation in which it is held by the learned. Aben Ezra died at Rhodes, having ordered his bones to be buried in the Holy Land. He had retired to the island in 1168, 1174, or 1192, for different accounts place this event in those various years.

Maimonides was a still more extraordinary character. His real name was Moses ben Maimon, but he is generally known by the patronymic of Maimonides. The time of his birth is likewise uncertain; it having taken place, according to some in 1131, according to others in 1139. Remarkable for erudition as he afterwards became, in youth he displayed no promise of future distinction; and he offended his father, the judge of his nation at Cordova, by his idleness and thoughtlessness. A tale is told of his becoming all at once enamoured of study, from passing a night in a synagogue. After some

years of resolute application, he astonished his father and friends by a learned discourse delivered at Cordova; and thus completely altered the opinion, which had till then been entertained of him. Like Aben Ezra, he distinguished himself by his acquirements in various branches of knowledge. He studied medicine under the far-famed Moorish physician Averroes. A vast number of his works are said to remain in manuscript, written in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldean. He is reported to have made himself master of the Greek philosophy, probably through the medium of Arabic versions. He even emancipated himself from the universal belief in astrology, and for this was accused of impiety by many of his contemporary Jews. But like his great rival Aben Ezra, he turned his attention chiefly to the study of theology. At the early age of twenty-three, he began a commentary on the Mishna, and finished it in seven years. In this work he sometimes exhibits a spirit of almost Platonic sublimity; at other times he shows himself enchained by the most abject superstition. We may be surprised that a man of so much acuteness could really think it worth his while to discuss seriously, whether an orthodox Jew ought, with the school of Hilal, to maintain the lawfulness of eating birds with milk, or, with the school of Shammai, to consider such a practice unlawful; and gravely inquire whether a man should sweep the house before washing his hands, or wash his hands before sweeping the house! But superstition is not the only, or the worst fault in the writings of Maimonides. He shows himself actuated by the fiercest spirit of intolerance against the opponents of Ju-

daism, and thinks it lawful to deceive and even massacre them. In this respect he was not a whit superior to the prejudices of his country and his age.

Maimonides likewise wrote a treatise, which he called *Jad Hazaka*, or the Strong Hand; which is an abridgment of the Talmud; divided into fourteen books, and forming, as has been observed by Depping, a manual of the civil, criminal, and canon law of the Jews. It is written with simplicity and elegance, and is very useful to those who wish to acquire a knowledge of the spirit of Judaism. This work has been used in many of the Jewish communities in the East, as a code for the direction of their judges. It has been, in part at least, translated into Latin by a converted Jew, of Metz.

Another celebrated work of Maimonides is his *Moreh Nabokim*, or Guide of the Perplexed. This is not, as some perhaps might imagine, a system of casuistry, like the *Ductor Dubitantium* of Jeremy Taylor; but an explication of difficult passages of the Old Testament. It was composed at the age of fifty, when his mind had attained its full maturity; and accordingly in it he took occasion to retract some hasty opinions, which he had expressed in the *Jad Hazaka*. In order to make it more extensively useful, he wrote it in Arabic; but it was translated into Hebrew by a learned contemporary rabbin, Judah Alcarisi.\* This version, however, did not meet with the approbation of Maimonides. The *Moreh Nabokim* was condemned by Solomon ben Abraham, chief of the synagogue at Montpellier, who asserted that the works of Maimonides were heretical, and infected

\* The same rabbin translated Maimonides' commentary on the Mishna into Hebrew, for the benefit of the Jews of Marseilles.

with the philosophy of his master Averroes; he added that many of his arguments gave a great advantage to the Christians, and might be made use of to undermine the Jewish faith. Solomon, with his disciples David and Jonah, adopted harsher methods of counteracting his doctrines than a simple declaration of private opinion. They forbade the reading of his works upon pain of excommunication, and caused all the copies of them which they could seize to be burnt. On the other hand, the rabbins of Narbonne, Beziers, and other cities in the south of France, entered the lists in defence of Maimonides; and excommunicated Solomon with his friends, for their audacity in condemning the writings of one, whom his followers had termed the Glory of the East and the Light of the West. A long dispute ensued between the opponents and adherents of Maimonides. Party spirit ran very high; nor was it till an embassy, sent into Spain to ascertain the sentiments of the rabbins there, had brought back a favorable report of his orthodoxy, that the obstinate Jews of Montpellier would confess themselves in the wrong. This dissension was not terminated till 1232, long after the death of the subject of it.

In order to prevent the inculcation of false doctrine among his countrymen, Maimonides drew up the following creed, or confession of faith, which is now used by every Jew in the synagogue as well as in private devotion.

#### CREED.

1. "I believe, with a true and perfect faith, that God is the Creator, (whose name be blessed) governor and maker of all creatures, and that he has wrought all things, worketh, and shall work forever.

2. "I believe, with perfect faith, that the Creator, (whose name be blessed) is *one*; and that such a unity as is in him can be found in none other, and that he alone has been our God, is, and forever shall be.

3. "I believe, with perfect faith, that the Creator, (whose name be blessed) is not corporeal, nor to be comprehended with any bodily properties; and that there is no bodily essence which can be likened unto him.

4. "I believe, with perfect faith, the Creator, (whose name be blessed) to be the first and last, and that nothing was before him, and he shall abide the last forever.

5. "I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator, (whose name be blessed) is to be worshipped, and none else.

6. "I believe, with perfect faith, that all the words of the prophets are true.

7. "I believe, with perfect faith, that the prophecies of Moses our master, (may he rest in peace) are true; that he was the father and chief of all wise men who lived before him, or ever shall live after him.

8. "I believe, with perfect faith, that all the law, which at this day is found in our hands, was delivered by God himself to our master Moses, (God's peace be with him.)

9. "I believe with a perfect faith, that the same law is never to be changed, nor any other to be given us of God, (whose name be blessed forever.)

10. "I believe, with a perfect faith, that God, (whose name be blessed) understandeth all the thoughts and words of men, as it is written in the prophets, "he fashioneth their hearts alike, he understandeth all their works."

11. "I believe, with a perfect faith, that God will recompense good to those who keep his commandments, and will punish those who transgress them.

12. "I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Messiah is yet to come; and though he retard his coming, yet will I wait for him till he appears.

13. "I believe, with a perfect faith, that the dead shall be restored to life when it shall seem fit to God the Creator, (whose name be blessed, and memory celebrated, world without end. Amen.")

He added to this creed an anathema against all who should depart from the doctrines taught therein. Such heretics were not merely to be excommunicated, but were to become the just objects of the hatred and persecution of all orthodox Jews. Among those fundamental articles of faith, Maimonides inculcates the belief of the resurrection from the dead; but he imagined, with other rabbins, that that glorious privilege was to be limited to the pious among the Jews,—all the ungodly, whether nominally Israelites, or openly enemies of the Hebrew faith, being left in the silence of the grave to all eternity.

In his declining years, Maimonides retired to the court of the Sultan of Egypt, where he attained high renown as the royal physician. So great was his reputation, that he was consulted, not merely by the sultan and his retainers, but by all classes of the inhabitants of Cairo, who besieged his dwelling from morning to night, in order to obtain his invaluable advice. An Arabian author has expressed the general sentiment of his contemporaries, by terming him the “phœnix of his age in the art of medicine.” The libraries of Paris, Rome, and the Escorial, possess various medical treatises of his. It was in Egypt that Maimonides died in 1201 or 1209, at the age of seventy. The Jews testified their veneration for him by fasting and mourning for three days. He had given orders to be buried at Tiberias, where his ancestors had a sepulchre; but it is said, that those who attempted to fulfil his dying injunctions, were attacked on the road by robbers, and obliged to fly, leaving the corpse without interment. Such was the admiration, which Maimonides excited in his lifetime, that many Jews were accustomed to add to the daily prayer, offered up in the



synagogues for the coming of the kingdom of God, these words, "May that kingdom come while our illustrious guide and master yet sojourns upon earth." It was commonly said of him, that he was the greatest man, who had appeared in the Jewish nation since the days of Moses; and some traditions\* say, that on his tomb was engraven the inscription, "Here is interred the elect of the human race."

The medical skill of Maimonides was only one among his multifarious attainments; but in this golden age of Judaism, there were many who devoted themselves to the practice of the healing art alone, and acquired the highest reputation in it. Three Jews of the name of Aben Zoar, father, son, and grandson, were especially renowned for their skill. One of them was the master of the celebrated Averroes, who says in one of his works, that medical science owes every thing to the family of Aben Zoar. The third of these distinguished men was physician to Yusef, emperor of Morocco; who, as we are told by Leo Africanus, one day chanced to enter the study of Aben Zoar, and found there a copy of verses, which expressed the natural regret felt by the Jew at being separated from his family, who were still in Spain. The prince immediately, without communicating his design to Aben Zoar, sent for his relatives; established them in a handsome house; and enjoyed the surprise and satisfaction, which his physician testified on being ushered into their presence.

Even among the Christian inhabitants of Spain, in spite of the jealousy and ill will which they manifested

\* Of course these traditions are incompatible with the story of his interrupted interment, mentioned above.

towards the Jews, the medical skill of the latter was admitted and admired. Jewish physicians were to be found occasionally at court; and it was to one of them, in the service of the King of Leon, that the estates of that realm applied, in order to dissuade their sovereign from an alliance with Arragon. The monarch was remarkable for the hastiness of his temper, and none of his courtiers would venture to remonstrate with him on that obnoxious project. The Jew was selected, as possessing so much influence over the mind of his royal patient, that he might undertake with safety, and the hope of success, that task, from the danger of which all others recoiled.

## CHAPTER VII.

Iron age of Judaism—Suppression of the Princedom of the Captivity—Benjamin of Tudela and Patachia—Jews in Italy—Nilus the Calabrian—Singular Custom at the Accession of a Pope—Synagogues of the South of France—Family of the Kimchi—Travels of Solomon Jarchi—The Jews at Beziers assaulted every Easter—Cruelties of the Crusaders—St. Bernard and Peter of Cluni—Philip Augustus banishes the Jews from France, but afterwards permits their Return—Conduct of St. Louis—The Jews are again banished by Philip the Fair, and their Property confiscated—Louis Hutin permits them to return—Sanguinary Persecution in the South of France, which makes them happy to leave the Kingdom—They make a Bargain with Charles the Wise, and again return—Final Expulsion under Charles VI.—Toleration of the Jews in Provence—The Jews of Castile—Alphonso the Wise—Don Joseph, a Jew, Treasurer to Alphonso XI.—Anecdote of a Queen of Castile—Jews excluded from Barcelona—Conferences between Jews and Christians in Arragon—Disputation in the Presence of the Anti-pope Benedict XIII.—Conversions effected by Vincent Ferrier—New Christians—Banishment of the Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella—Hardships suffered by the Exiles—The Portuguese Jews distinguish themselves in Commerce and Literature—Printing-press established by them at Lisbon—They are expelled by King Manuel—Persecution of those who conformed to Christianity. (A. D. 1130—1500.)

THE consideration of the prosperity which marked the golden age of Judaism, has brought us down to a period of Moorish history, posterior, by several centuries, to the time at which what Mr. Milman has termed “the Iron age” commenced in the East. We have already alluded to the persecution, which drove Rabbi Moses from Mesopotamia, and proved the means of establishing a flourishing school of Jewish literature in Spain. But, previous to the storm which burst upon them, the Babylonian Jews had been distracted by fierce internal dissensions. About the middle of the tenth century, David ben

Soccai was Prince of the Captivity. He was of a haughty and turbulent temper; and is said to have taken advantage of the weakness of the Caliph Moktader, to assume privileges, to which the Jewish rulers were not legally entitled. He also embroiled himself with the rabbins by his unwise interference with them. A vacancy having occurred in the presidentship of the academy of Sora, David named an obscure individual called Om Tob to supply it. This person soon displayed his utter incompetency for the situation, which had been conferred upon him; and Rabbi Saadiah, a doctor of great renown, was summoned from Egypt, to redeem the lost reputation of the school. He taught with great success; but, not long after his arrival, the prince quarrelled with him, because he would not obey an illegal order which he had given, and went so far in his indecent violence as to threaten him with the loss of his head. The scholars of Saadiah espoused the cause of their master; and the rabbin, emboldened by their support, retaliated upon the prince by excommunicating him, and transferring his dignity to his brother Joseph. This unseemly contest lasted for several years. In the course of it, Saadiah was obliged to fly from his school, and retire to a place of security, where he remained for a time sufficient to compose several works of great reputation among the Jews. He afterwards issued from his retreat, and became reconciled to the prince. So sincere was the friendship which now ensued between two men, formerly so bitterly opposed, that Saadiah became the guardian of David's grandson when he was early left an orphan. Some time after this, it appears that Scherira filled at once the offices of Prince of the Captivity, and head of the acade-

my at Pherutz Schabur, a city in Mesopotamia, where the Jews are said, by an extravagant hyperbole, to have amounted to the number of 900,000. Scherira taught for thirty years, and distinguished himself by his zeal against the Christians; writing a great deal in controversy with the monks, whom he despised, and called by the opprobrious, but we fear too justly merited name of *forgers*. Finding himself sinking under the weight of years, he associated his son Hai with him in his dignities. Hai well supported his hereditary reputation. He wrote on various subjects, and became so renowned that men came from the east and the west to consult him. He is reckoned the last of the Gaonim or Illustrious. But, in the midst of his success and reputation, he and his father, now upwards of 100 years old, were seized by order of the Caliph Kader, who had been excited to this violence by the reports, which he had heard of their great wealth. Scherira was hanged; but Hai had the good fortune to escape, and was even suffered to return to his school, where he taught unmolested till his death. Hezekiah was the next, and the last Prince of the Captivity. He had held his dignity only two years, when, with his whole family, he was arrested by order of the Caliph. He was put to death, and with him terminated the long line of the Babylonian rulers of the Jews. At the same time, the celebrated Mesopotamian academies were finally shut up, and rabbinical learning was constrained to seek a retreat in the west of Europe.

In the following century, the Eastern Jews were visited by two European travellers of their own faith, Benjamin of Tudela, and Patachia of Ratisbon. They found a considerable number of Israelites still residing in

Mesopotamia, notwithstanding the persecutions which they had undergone ; but, though they had a few petty schools among them, the glory of their great academies was gone forever, and their sites were marked only by ruins.

Few traces are to be found in history of the state of the Jews in Palestine at this period. They have never ceased to look with reverence to that land, where their ancestors were so long blessed with the especial favor of the Most High ; and in the writings of their rabbins may be found even the most extravagant opinions, respecting the benefit, which may be derived from a visit to, or a sojourn in Jerusalem or Judea. Yet, at the time when the Jewish travellers above mentioned\* visited the Holy Land, there were but very few in it who professed the Hebrew faith. In Jerusalem Benjamin found only 200 Jews, for the most part engaged in dying wool, and possessing a monopoly of the trade, for which they paid a certain sum of money annually. Patachia, who travelled but a few years later, says that he saw in the holy city only a single Israelite, the rabbin Abraham Hakaba, who was obliged to pay largely for the privilege of residing there. It is not easy to reconcile these different accounts of two persons, who travelled at so nearly contemporary periods, except by supposing, either that Patachia speaks only of the rabbins or learned Jews, when he mentions Hakaba as the sole representative at Jerusalem of the posterity of Abraham ; or that some outburst of fanaticism

\* We may here remark that, though these travellers, like their Christian contemporaries, are very credulous, and fond of marvellous stories, they may be believed in the accounts, which they have given of the (in general) miserable state of their brethren in the various countries which they visited, and which contain no intrinsic improbability.

on the part of the Christians (who had conquered the holy city in the First Crusade), had prompted them to expel the company of dyers, whom Benjamin of Tudela found there. At Tiberias, Benjamin says that there were only fifty Jews; and the only things at that time remarkable in this former seat of rabbinical erudition were its excellent waters and hot baths. In other cities of Syria and Palestine equally small numbers of Jews were to be found. The Samaritans occupied Sichem or Naplous, and intermarried only among themselves.

The same traveller tells marvellous stories of what he saw in Egypt. He states that there were no fewer than 30,000 Jews in a city called Kouts, the situation of which is not known. It has been objected to him, as a strong ground for suspecting the authenticity of his narrative, that he makes no mention of Maimonides, who is said to have been then in high favor at the Egyptian court, as the sultan's physician. But we know not the exact period at which that illustrious rabbin retired into Egypt; and the probability appears to be, that it was posterior to the time of the Spanish Jew's travels.

In the territories of the Byzantine empire, Benjamin found but few Israelites. Even in the vast city of Constantinople there were only 2000, chiefly silk-weavers and merchants. Besides these, there were 500 Caraites, who were separated from their brethren by a high wall, so jealous were the adherents to tradition of the vicinity of those, whom they abhorred as heretics. Although the emperor's physician was a Jew, and did all he could to protect those of his own nation, he was unable to prevent the insults daily offered to them by the superstitious and fanatical Greeks. They were not allowed to reside



within the city ; and if they entered it on any occasion they were liable to be attacked by the mob, who beat them, pelted them with filth of all kinds, and testified, by every means in their power, their contempt and abhorrence for the forlorn descendants of Abraham.

But the ill treatment, which the Jews experienced from the Constantinopolitan mob, was trifling, when compared with the atrocities, which disgraced many countries of Europe in this dark period of history. Kings and princes seemed to vie with one another in a desire of distinguishing themselves by the most horrible persecution of the unhappy Israelites ; and they who professed to be ministers of the gospel of peace and love, instead of endeavoring to mitigate the ferocity of the laity, exulted in it, and praised it as a most evident token of the prevalence of religious principle. Amidst the miserable delusions which abounded in that period of ignorance, none was more common or more fatal than the belief, that the expression of hatred against the rejectors of Christianity was a certain evidence of being actuated by its spirit. It was this which in a great measure prompted the fanatical follies of the Crusades ; for men believed that the slaying of the Saracens in the open field, or even in cold blood, was a means of proving themselves well entitled to rank among the noblest ornaments and bulwarks of the church. And those who wanted the valor or the opportunity to distinguish themselves by warring for the recovery of the Holy Land, could acquire the same kind of reputation, in scarcely an inferior degree, by persecuting the unwarlike and unresisting Hebrews, who dwelt everywhere among them.

Italy was, for the most part, distinguished by an hon-

orable exemption from this atrocious spirit; and the annals of her history at this period afford few examples of those persecutions, which disgraced the other states of Europe. But it would, we fear, be paying too high a compliment to the Italians of the middle ages, to suppose that this absence of persecution arose from any clearer perception of the genuine spirit of the gospel, than was manifested by other nations. The true cause, probably, was the small numbers and obscure occupations of the Jews who inhabited the country. Although the city of Genoa was a place remarkable for commerce and wealth, Benjamin of Tudela found there only twenty Israelites. Although the Italian Jews doubtless possessed all the industry and love of gain, which characterized their brethren in other countries, they had to compete with men as active and indefatigable as themselves, in the merchants of the various republics, which shed such a lustre of glory upon the history of this period. The Lombards at this time began to be distinguished by the practice of usury, which formed one of the chief sources of wealth to the Jews; as it might well do, when even public and legal interest rose so high as 20 or 25 per cent. ; and in secret, even more exorbitant sums were exacted by those who well knew how to profit by the necessities of their debtors. As the Italian Christians thus supplanted them in those lucrative employments, which, by the wealth they enabled them to accumulate, drew down upon the Jews the jealousy and avarice of kings and nobles in other states, the descendants of Abraham were constrained to betake themselves to humbler occupations; and thus, though they might be kept in poverty, they were in general preserved in security.

One of the most singular circumstances, which occurs in the history of the Jews in Italy, is recorded by the monkish biographer of St. Nilus the Calabrian. A Hebrew merchant, when returning from a journey, had been assassinated by a young man, from what motive is not recorded. The murderer was seized and delivered up to the Jews of the town, who announced their intention of putting him to death by crucifixion. But Nilus, being informed of the circumstances of the case, opposed the execution of the sentence, affirming that it was illegal, because the life of a Christian was valued by the law as equivalent to that of seven Israelites. We are informed that the Jews acquiesced in this statement, and desisted from their intention to execute the criminal. There are many better things recorded of Nilus than this enforcement of a law, "more honored in the breach than the observance."

In Italy, as well as elsewhere, the professors of Judaism were occasionally exposed to outbursts of popular fury. Thus, at Chieti there was a custom of administering justice to them every year at Easter, and they paid a certain sum to the revenues of the state in return for this privilege. On one occasion they were assembled as usual for this purpose; when a new convert, who was indebted to one of them, began to quarrel with him, and exclaimed, that, three years before, his creditor and some other Jews had made a waxen image to represent our Saviour, and had vented their hatred against him, by piercing it through in every direction. The mob immediately seized upon the culprits, maltreated them, and pulled down their synagogue. At Rome, the centre of papal power, they were by no means treated with that

cruelty and oppression which we might *a priori* suppose. There, as in Venice, Ferrara, Salerno, and various other Italian cities, they inhabited a distinct quarter; but this might be as much a measure of protection as of invidious distinction. At one time, the Roman Jews were in possession of considerable wealth, derived from their pursuits of banking or exchange; and of commerce with the East, whence they brought spices of various kinds, silk and cotton stuffs, and other commodities. But these branches of industry were afterwards engrossed by the enterprising inhabitants of Venice and Genoa. From the year 1119 to the present time, the Jews of Rome have practised a singular custom, which some may regard as a privilege, while others may consider it as an insult. At the accession of every pope, they approach his presence, and offer him a copy of the law. The pontiff accepts their homage, and has a set reply ready for them. According to the rubric, it is as follows:—"I reverence the law, which you have received from God by Moses; but I condemn your explanations of it, because you wait for the Messiah, which the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church believes to be Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Ghost."

When Benjamin of Tudela visited Rome, he found there 200 Jews; who, as he informs us, enjoyed the privilege of being exempted from tribute. A rabbin, Jehiel by name, was treasurer to the pope, and it was probably through his protection that they enjoyed so remarkable a favor. Although the Italian Jews were at this time by no means remarkable for learning, there were some distinguished rabbins among those of Rome; in particular Nathan ben Zakiel, who was the head of the syna-

gogue in that city, and died in 1106. He drew up a dictionary of the words contained in the Talmud, in the Targum, or ancient Chaldean translation of the Old Testament, and the Midsachim, or ancient allegorical commentary. This work, a product of immense labor, was entitled by him *Aruch*, or Arrangement; and was one of the first books printed by the Jews, when, as we shall afterwards see, they established various printing-presses throughout Italy.

Passing from Italy to France, a much more gloomy scene meets our view. Here they were subjected to the most atrocious persecution. Their wealth excited a desire of plundering them, which their peaceful habits rendered it safe to gratify. Princes, nobles, clergy, and people, alike testified by persecution their hatred of the unfortunate Israelites. But before we enter upon the sad story of their misfortunes, we may say a few words about the distinguished men, who shed a lustre over the south of France, and almost enabled that country to rival in rabbinical reputation the land of Aben Ezra and Maimonides. The synagogues in southern France were numerous and flourishing. That of Narbonne was the most renowned. From its antiquity and authority, it was denominated "the mistress of the law." The chief rabbin received, at least from his countrymen, the title of king; and it was even alleged, that this appellation had been given him by Charlemagne, to whose court the Narbonnese synagogue had sent a deputation.

The most distinguished of the French rabbins were the family of the Kimchi, who flourished at Narbonne. Joseph Kimchi wrote a commentary on part of the Old Testament, compiled a Hebrew grammar, and composed

hymns for the use of the synagogues; but none of his works have ever been printed, though several copies of them are to be found in the great libraries of Europe. His son Moses was also a learned man and an author. His grammar, entitled *Mahalak Sceville Adaath*, or *An Introduction to the Paths of Knowledge*, has been several times given to the public in a printed form. But both Joseph and Moses were far surpassed in science and renown by David the second son of the former, who has been styled by the Jews "The Prince of Grammarians." It was he who was despatched by the French Jews, to obtain the verdict of their Spanish brethren with regard to the orthodoxy of Maimonides. He found no opposition to the opinions of that great man from any of the Spanish rabbins, except Ben Joseph Alfakar, the head of the synagogue at Toledo, a man remarkable for eminence in medicine, and a bitter enemy to Maimonides. But the dexterous management of David Kimchi at length brought over this obstinate opponent; and the Spanish rabbins gave that unanimous approbation of the dogmas of Maimonides, which confounded his violent antagonists at Montpellier. David Kimchi distinguished himself at once as a theologian and a grammarian. His chief works are his grammar, his lexicon of the Hebrew language, and his commentaries upon various portions of the Old Testament.\* That on the Psalms has been especially esteemed, by both Jews and Christians, and has been translated into several of the languages of Europe. His father was a most bitter enemy to the Christians, but he speaks of them with greater moderation.

\* His expositions of the prophet Zechariah has lately been translated and published by the Rev. Dr. M'Caul, formerly a missionary to the Jews, and one of the best Hebrew scholars in Britain.

An equally celebrated name is that of Solomon, the son of Isaac ; better known by the name of Jarchi, Zarchi, or Raschi. He was born at Troyes in Champagne, about the year 1105. His family had already produced several celebrated rabbins. From his childhood he distinguished himself by his thirst for knowledge. He studied under the learned teachers of Southern France, especially Moses Hardashan of Narbonne, surnamed "the Preacher," from the excellence of his discourses ; and Zerachia, called "the Spaniard," from the place of his birth, but at that time likewise established at Narbonne. In a few years he made himself master of the several commentaries and theological works of the different rabbinical schools ; and, not content with these acquirements, he paid great attention to the study of philosophy, which he learned from the works of the principal Greek writers, probably through the medium of Arabic versions. At the age of thirty he had composed a commentary on the Bible and the Talmud. He then resolved to travel and visit the Jewish communities in the East. He passed through Italy, Greece, Palestine and Egypt ; where he for some time remained as a scholar of Maimonides, who received him with great kindness, and conceived a very high idea of his abilities. He next repaired to Persia, whence he returned homewards ; and, after having traversed the intermediate countries, he arrived at Prague in Bohemia. Here he was welcomed as a man, whose fame was diffused throughout the Hebrew communities wherever scattered. But the pleasure of the Jews at his arrival was soon turned into mourning. The Christian inhabitants of the city alleged that Jarchi was another Barchochab, a pretender to the title of the Messiah ; and that



he was enthusiastically received by his brethren in that capacity. The Duke of Bohemia, Uladislav, was by no means favorably disposed towards the Israelites, and this false report roused all the evil passions of his nature against them. He caused Jarchi to be arrested, and brought before him for examination. The duke had as his assessors the Bishop of Olmutz, and a favorite of his, named Narzerad, who was much in debt to the Jews; and nefariously wished to avoid payment, by instigating his sovereign to the expulsion or massacre of his creditors. He wished to begin with Jarchi, as the most celebrated of the Israelites, and as already much hated by the duke, on account of that report, which he maliciously took every opportunity of confirming. While the duke had such a counsellor, the prisoner, was likely to meet with little mercy; and he was about to be put to the torture, when the bishop of Olmutz, fixing his eyes on him, recognised in him the physician who had saved his life when in the Holy Land upon a pilgrimage, and attacked by a most dangerous disease. He immediately related the story to the duke, who was now somewhat ashamed of the suspicions he had entertained of the learned rabbin, and ordered him to be set at liberty. But in the mean time, the populace, upon seeing Jarchi arrested, had concluded that their sovereign would tolerate, at least, if he did not approve, any violence of which they might be guilty towards the Jews; and had previously attacked the quarter of the city where they lived. Their tumultuary shouts reached the ducal palace; and Jarchi, falling on his knees, earnestly besought Uladislav to extend his protection to his unfortunate brethren. The prince complied with his request, and granted him an edict of safety

to the Jews of Prague. He instantly hastened to their quarter, and had the inexpressible pleasure of delivering his friends from the ferocious multitude, who, but for this interposition, might have massacred them on the spot. Uladislas, after this, bestowed several marks of his favor on Jarchi; but he is said by some to have been murdered soon afterwards at the instigation of Narzerad, who took advantage of an accidental absence of the duke to effect his detestable design. Another account states that he left Prague, and died long after at Treves. One of the most celebrated works of Jarchi is his commentary on the Pentateuch, which is much esteemed by the Jews, and was one of the first Hebrew books published after the invention of printing. Jarchi had a grandson, named Jacob Tham, who wrote several theological pieces, particularly one entitled "The Book of the Just;" but his reputation was very much inferior to that of his grandfather.

We turn from these details to the less grateful task of recording the sufferings, to which the unhappy Israelites were subjected in France. The most horrid tales were told and believed of their poisoning the fountains, stealing young children in order to crucify them, and practising the most indecent treatment on the sacramental elements, which they contrived, in one way or another, to purloin from the churches. Such stories excited the lower classes against them; and they who, from birth or station, ought to have discountenanced and repressed their outrages, too frequently encouraged, or at least connived at them. They were especial objects of hatred and insult during the ceremonies of the Easter week; for, with the lamentably erroneous spirit of the times, the

misguided multitude thought that they were doing a service to that Saviour, whose sufferings they then commemorated, by persecuting the descendants of those who had nailed him to the cross. Thus, at Beziers, every year on Palm Sunday, the bishop mounted the pulpit of the cathedral, and addressed the people to the following effect: "You have among you, my brethren, the descendants of the impious wretches, who crucified the Lord Jesus Christ, whose passion we are soon to commemorate. Show yourselves animated with the spirit of your ancestors; arm yourselves with stones, assail the Jews with them, and thus, as far as in you lies, revenge the sufferings of that Saviour, who redeemed you with His own blood." He then gave his blessing to the multitude, already well enough inclined to obey his injunctions, and they immediately rushed furiously against the houses of the Israelites, to attack them in the manner which the prelate commanded. The Jews, on the other hand, were allowed to defend themselves with the same missiles which their Christian fellow-citizens employed against them; and the city was kept in a constant state of disturbance by the contest between the two parties, until Easter day, when the riotous proceedings were required to cease. Many persons were usually killed or wounded on both sides. This shameful custom was at length put an end to by Raymond, viscount of Beziers, in 1160, who engaged to protect the Jews from all insults in Easter week, upon the payment of an annual tribute.

The periods of the crusades were especially fatal to the Jews. It could not be expected that those, who were actuated by the superstitious and fanatical spirit which then prevailed, would be likely to listen to the voice of

reason or humanity, which might have stayed their hand from persecuting the wretched Israelites. A number of persons who had assembled at Rouen for the purpose of joining in the First Crusade, bethought themselves of a massacre of the Jews, as a proper means of beginning to imbrue their hands in infidel blood. "We are going," said they, "to march towards the East in order to avenge the cause of God upon his enemies, but we are leaving behind us a race of people as hateful in His sight as any of the unbelieving Saracens. Let us commence our holy work by putting them to the sword." Such were the monstrous opinions, which in those benighted days passed for truly pious sentiments! Both in France and in the north of Germany, the most horrid cruelties were practised upon the Jews by the fanatics, who joined in the First Crusade. To save themselves from falling into the hands of their enraged enemies, many of the Jews murdered first their wives and children, and then themselves. Others made a profession of Christianity, and submitted to baptism, as the only method of saving their lives. At Spire, they were fortunate enough, by some means or other, to gain the protection of the bishop, who defended them from injury. A contemporary historian, who could find no other way of explaining this conduct of the prelate, which he deemed most iniquitous and unchristian, supposes that he must have been bribed by the Jews to exercise a simple act of humanity towards them! We may remark, that the monkish historians, with scarcely a single exception, record these disgraceful deeds as innocent at least, if not praiseworthy, showing that they were completely in unison with the spirit of the age.

When, half a century later, preparations were made

for the Second Crusade, the same atrocities were repeated in the same countries. It was a fanatical monk of the name of Rodolph, who at this time excited the people against the Jews. His exhortations were attended with but too much success, and torrents of Jewish blood were offered up in impious sacrifice to the God of mercy. It is to the honor of St. Bernard, himself a great supporter of the Crusade, that he wrote to the bishops of Franconia and Bavaria, requesting them to put an end to those atrocities, and even repaired in person to Germany to use his influence with Rodolph to stay these horrible proceedings. He was met with heavy complaints of their usury and rapacity; but while he condemned those acts of extortion, he added that he knew of many Christians who rivalled them in their nefarious practices. Peter of Cluni, surnamed the Venerable, the friend of Abelard, and a man in general of a mild and amiable character, was also opposed to the massacreing of the Jews, but thought it perfectly allowable to despoil them of the wealth, which they had acquired by every fraudulent means. He even recommended this spoliation in a letter addressed to Louis VII. of France; who happily had too much sense or principle to comply with his injunction, and allowed the Israelites to remain unmolested during his reign. For this wise policy he is censured by a contemporary annalist, who adds, that it was the only fault with which he could be reproached throughout his long reign. Posterity will probably be unanimous in thinking, that the countenance given by the French monarch to the Second Crusade, in which he himself joined, is a far greater blot on his memory than the protection, which he afforded to his Hebrew subjects.

At the beginning of the reign of Philip Augustus, the son of Louis VII., the Jews throughout France were in a very prosperous condition, being the richest class of people in the kingdom. A great number of persons of all classes were indebted to them, and the enormous usury which they exacted for their loans, excited against them the hatred of their debtors. The ear of the king was beset with complaints of their extortion, their sacrilegious receiving of the vessels of the church in pledge, and the atrocities which they practised in secret. They were accused at one time of killing all the swine in a province by their enchantments, at another of putting a man to death with all the insults to which our Saviour had been subjected before his crucifixion. On hearing of this latter circumstance, Philip hastened to the place where it was said to have happened; seized all the Jews who resided there, to the number of above eighty; and, without listening to anything, which the miserable beings could say in their defence, ordered them to be burnt alive. His treatment of the rest of the Israelites in his dominions was less horrible indeed, but equally unjust. In 1181, he confiscated all their unmoveable property, ordered them to dispose of their moveables, and to leave the kingdom within a very limited period. He extinguished all debts due to them, with the exception of a fifth part, which he commanded should be paid to himself. Many of the barons and bishops, from motives of self-interest, endeavored to dissuade the king from carrying his edict into effect, but in vain; the fanaticism of the inferior clergy and the populace united with the avarice of Philip to frustrate their efforts. Except in the southern parts of the kingdom, where the sovereign had less power

than elsewhere, the decree was rigorously enforced. A monkish historian observes, that the year 1181 ought to be regarded as a jubilee, because the Christians in France recovered their liberty, of which they had been despoiled by their Hebrew creditors.

Yet, some years after, the Jews were permitted by the same king to return into his dominions. The hope of profit induced them to settle again in a kingdom where they had lately experienced such barbarous treatment; and the necessities of the monarch probably made it convenient for him to have so industrious a body of subjects within his power, whom he might cause to contribute to his treasury either by fixed annual tribute, or by forced and extraordinary extortions. The Jews were in a manner constrained to abandon various branches of trade, by the clamours raised against their conduct in the prosecution of them. If they sold milk, they were accused of imposing on the buyers that of their wives; if they were butchers, the people said that they reserved all the best parts of the meat for those of their own religion, and sold only the refuse to the Christians; if they cultivated the vine as they did in Burgundy, their wine was alleged to be execrably bad,—and the clergy had very great scruples about using in the administration of the Lord's Supper a liquor prepared by infidel hands. Being thus shut out from other methods of subsistence, they betook themselves almost exclusively to usury; and by the enormous rate of interest which they exacted, and their fraudulent conduct in their dealings, exasperated their fellow-subjects against them. In order to prevent the injustice to which they frequently subjected their debtors, Philip Augustus, in 1206, enacted, that the legal interest should



be only two deniers on the livre weekly, which, however, would amount to upwards of forty per cent. per annum. Even this proved insufficient to satisfy the cupidity of the Jews, and they accordingly endeavored to evade the law, by obliging their debtors to engage to pay them the legal interest for a larger sum of money than they had actually borrowed. This practice became so common as to call forth another enactment of the same monarch, strictly forbidding it; and requiring that no creditor should demand, and no debtor should promise, on any pretext, a higher rate of interest than what had previously been fixed as legal. The king began to derive a considerable portion of his revenue from the sums levied on the Israelites, for the liberty of residing within his dominions, and practising their profession of usury. If he had listened to the request of his clergy, he would not have suffered them to dwell within his realm; for he had the utmost difficulty in preventing them from excommunicating those, who entered into the service of the Jews, or trafficked with them. Even Pope Innocent the Third wrote to Philip, remonstrating with him on the excessive favor which he showed to this unbelieving nation. Some years after, the same pontiff again wrote to the king, requesting that those, who were about to engage in the crusade against the Albigenses, should be freed from all obligation to pay the interest of their debts, and only be required to refund the capital when they should find it convenient.

Louis VIII., the son and successor of Philip, by a sweeping act of injustice, prohibited all interest in future upon debts due to Jews; and declared null and void all agreements between debtor and creditor which dated

more than five years back. Other debtors were to pay the capital within three years, at three instalments each year.

After a short reign of three years, Louis VIII. was succeeded by his son Louis IX., commonly known by the name of Saint Louis, one of the most devout and upright of men, but unhappily a slave to the superstition which overspread his age. Louis had the utmost aversion to the Israelites as the enemies of Christ, and as the practisers of usury, which he conscientiously believed to be unlawful. These sentiments induced him in various ways to harass and persecute them. At one time he forbade them to practise usury at all, and ordered them to apply themselves to more lawful employments. Pope Gregory IX. had issued a bull, prohibiting any person from reading the Talmud, as an impious book; and had authorized the burning of all copies of it, which could be found. Louis zealously supported the pontiff in his decree, and four and twenty cart-loads of ponderous rabbinical tomes were committed to the flames at Paris. Louis, on one occasion, remitted a third of all debts due to Jews; on another, before his departure to the Holy Land on a crusade, he banished some of that nation from the kingdom, and confiscated their property. He showed the greatest kindness to converts from Judaism, maintaining them at his own expense, and, when they died, granting pensions to their widows and children. In his reign, the populace rose against the Jews at various times, and insulted and maltreated them at Paris, Orleans, and other places. The councils held in various parts of France testified their abhorrence of the Israelites by their decrees; they even went the length of forbid-

ding all Christians to have any pecuniary transactions with them, upon pain of excommunication. One council prohibited all recourse to Jewish physicians, thinking probably that they performed their cures by means of communication with evil spirits, or by other unlawful arts.

During the reign of Philip the Hardy, the Jews were not exposed to any sanguinary persecution; but that monarch renewed the acts of his predecessors against them; and added some vexatious restrictions, such as prohibiting them from possessing more than one synagogue and cemetery in each diocese, and enjoining them to abstain from meat during Lent, like the Christians. Philip the Fair at first seemed somewhat favorable to them, and protected them against the Inquisition. But he was of a violent and cruel character, and besides greatly in need of money; and therefore, in 1306, he ordered all the Jews to leave the kingdom, and confiscated their property. This expulsion is considered by their descendants as one of the heaviest calamities that ever afflicted their nation. Only a very few managed to elude the avarice of the tyrant, by intrusting their effects to such Christians as felt themselves bound in honor to fulfil their engagements even to unbelievers. Some Jews contrived to steal back into the kingdom; but a second edict five years later obliged them to depart. Louis X., the son and successor of Philip, gave them permission to return, yielding, as his ordinance says, to the general desires of his people; who, with all their hatred to the Jews, found them so useful in pecuniary transactions, that they desired their recall. The king, however, made them pay dearly for this indulgence; for while he ordered all their debtors to fulfil their engagements, he ap-

propriated two-thirds of the debts to himself, leaving only one-third to the rightful creditors. The next king, Philip the Long, was favorable to the Jews, and bestowed some privileges upon them. But in his reign they were the victims of a desperate and popular fanaticism. In 1320, a great multitude of shepherds and peasants, headed by a priest and a monk, traversed France from one extremity to the other, it is said with some vague intention of setting out on a crusade to the Holy Land. But, at all events, they showed themselves actuated by the fiercest spirit of hostility against the unhappy Israelites. They massacred them and plundered their goods. At Verdun, the Jews for some time defended themselves desperately in a castle, but the fanatics set fire to the gates, and forced their way in; they found the defenders all lying dead; for, rather than fall into the power of such ferocious enemies, they had laid violent hands on themselves. Even the pope was unable to protect the Jews of Avignon; his anathemas were disregarded, and the shepherds continued to pursue their seditious course, until they were finally checked by the ravages of disease, and the successes of the troops, which the government was obliged to send against them. A Jewish author assures us, that 120 communities of his brethren in the south of France were destroyed by these fanatical miscreants. In the following year, a pestilence broke out, and a report was spread that it was occasioned by the Jews, who had bribed the lepers to poison the fountains and rivers. Absurd as this rumor was, it was readily believed. Some lepers were put to the torture, and in their agonies confessed the crime which was imputed to them. This confession was the signal for the

most horrible persecution of the Jews. Many of them were burnt alive, and by this cruel mode of punishment it is said that at Chinon alone 160 persons perished. The king, forgetting his previous indulgence towards them, availed himself of the general odium to confiscate their property, by which he acquired a very large sum. His successor, Charles the Fair, after exacting a considerable sum of money from the survivors, allowed them to leave the kingdom; which, probably, they were but too happy to do, in order to escape from the danger of such sufferings as they had lately endured.

During the reigns of the two next kings, Philip the Sixth and John, France was subjected to the greatest calamities by the invasion of Edward III. of England, who laid claim to the throne. At the battle of Poitiers, King John was made prisoner by the Black Prince, and detained in captivity several years. During this period, the affairs of the realm were managed by his son Charles, surnamed the Wise, and truly deserving the name from his prudent administration. The Jews made a treaty with him through the medium of Manasseh or Menocia de Vesou, a banker, who had advanced money to the dauphin in his necessities. This treaty was ratified by King John after his return from captivity. The Jews were to be allowed to remain in the kingdom for twenty years; they were to pay for this indulgence, at their entrance, fourteen florins for each man and his wife, one florin two tournois for each child and servant, besides an annual tribute of seven florins for each man and woman, and one florin for each child and servant. But, by making these payments, they were to be exempted from all other taxation, and to have perfect freedom to practise

any branch of industry which they pleased. They were not to be subjected to baronial jurisdiction; but were to be under the control of an officer, styled the guardian of the Jews, and appointed by the king himself. The first person nominated to this important function was the Count d'Etampes, a prince of the blood. The rate of interest was fixed at four deniers the livre weekly, which was double that permitted by Philip Augustus. They might receive any thing in pledge, except the vessels of the church and laborers' tools. The treaty contained various other articles, all of them equally favorable to the Jews; who seemed thus at length to be amply indemnified for the many sufferings and insults to which they had been at former periods subjected. But their season of prosperity was short indeed. Towards the end of the reign of Charles the Wise, the Jews in Paris were attacked by the populace, who slew some of them, pillaged the rest, and obliged the women to give up their children to be baptized. Aubriot, the provost of the city, a wise and enlightened man, to whom Paris is indebted for several of her finest buildings, obtained an edict from the king, which obliged the rioters to restore the children they had taken away, and return the goods which they had stolen. Not long after, this excellent magistrate was accused by the university, with which he had a dispute, of a secret leaning to Judaism; and through the influence of the archbishop of Paris was condemned to imprisonment. Such, in the fourteenth century, was the reward of a simple act of justice exerted in behalf of the despised and oppressed Israelites!

In the earlier part of the reign of Charles the Sixth, the Jews managed to obtain from that feeble sovereign

several privileges, which proved very oppressive to their debtors. Untaught by their many previous misfortunes, they continued to exact the enormous rate of usury which was allowed, upwards of eighty per cent. per annum, with the utmost rigor; and thus again excited the popular clamor against them. Their wise counsellor, Manasseh of Vesou was dead; his family enjoyed the same consideration at court which he had received; but this proved of little advantage to the Jews, for his son Joseph became a Christian. Another rich Israelite, Denis Machanet, as he is called by a contemporary writer, had also been converted; and the efforts which his brethren made to bring him back to the Hebrew faith, proved the means of their ruin. A report spread through the city of Paris, that the new convert had been assassinated by the Jews; the inhabitants loudly demanded the punishment of the criminals, and the provost, a very different person from the wise and good Aubriot, seized seven of the principal Hebrews, and ordered them to be burnt alive. The parliament of Paris commuted this sentence into banishment and confiscation. The clamors occasioned by this false accusation had such an influence on the court, that shortly after Charles ordered all the Jews in his dominions to leave them; alleging as his reason, that the expectations of their good conduct as subjects, which had induced his father to grant, and himself to continue, so many privileges to them, had been entirely disappointed, as they had shown themselves on every occasion the enemies and oppressors of the adherents to the true faith.\* The

\* Some months after the departure of the Jews, a hundred Hebrew manuscripts were found in a house in Paris. They had probably belonged to the synagogue, and were carried to the library in the Louvre. This is almost the only proof which we



Jews were not allowed to re-enter the kingdom till the period of the Revolution.

The kingdom of France was then by no means so extensive as it now is. It did not attain its present limits till some centuries later. At the period of the expulsion of the Israelites by Charles the Sixth, many of the fugitives took refuge in the dominions of the Count of Provence, where their brethren had long enjoyed the most liberal toleration. The Jews of that district had devoted themselves much more to commerce than to usury, and carried on an extensive and lucrative traffic with the East, whence they brought spices and stuffs of various kinds. Many of them likewise practised the healing art with great success, and some of these physicians were employed in the service of the Counts of Provence. In particular, Peter Nostrodamus became renowned for his medical skill, and was appointed physician to Count René, who treated the Jews with great indulgence. Peter, however, renounced Judaism for the religion of the Gospel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Provence was incorporated with the kingdom of France, on the failure of the line of its ancient princes, and the Israelites were not long in experiencing the sad effects of this change of rulers. Louis XII., who was surnamed "the Father of his People," showed himself on this occasion very unworthy of the title, for he ordered all the Jewish inhabitants of Provence to leave his dominions. They obeyed; and retired, some into the Levant, and others into the Comtat d'Avignon, where they were protected by the authority of the pope. From this small district they have never been expelled, and they possessed in it have that the Jews in the north of France devoted themselves at all to literature.

several synagogues. Some rabbins of distinction have proceeded from these settlements; among others, Joseph Mein, who was born at the close of the fifteenth century. His works are, the Annals of the Kings of France, a work of great succinctness; and a History of the Conquests of the French in the East. The latter piece was published for the first and last time at Venice, in 1554, and is very scarce. Another celebrated Jew of Avignon, was Mor-decai, who took the name of Philip d'Aquin, after his conversion to Christianity, and became Professor of Hebrew at Paris. He published several works, of which the best known is a Hebrew dictionary.

In Spain, an "Age of Iron," did at length afflict the Jews, but it was delayed for a long time by the wise policy of the kings of Castile and Arragon. The Moors were gradually driven from the north and centre of Spain, and obliged to content themselves with the southern provinces. The Jews seem to have passed under the power of their new masters with little regret, and they long enjoyed many favors and indulgences from them. Occasionally they might be subjected to the fanatical oppression of some bigoted prelate or insensate mob, who thought that the maltreatment of the Israelites was an undeniable evidence of their enlightened zeal for the faith; but their sovereigns protected them in general from insult and injury. Learning still flourished among them; and Toledo especially was remarkable for the numbers of distinguished men, theologians, astronomers, mathematicians, and physicians, whom it produced. Alphonso X., king of Castile, surnamed the Wise, from his love and patronage of science, treated the *savans* of Toledo, with the utmost favor, but obliged them to renounce their religion.

He employed his physician, Judah Morea, one of these converts, to draw up the famous astronomical tables, commonly called the Alphonsin; and likewise enjoined upon him the task of translating various Arabian treatises into Castilian. Several other of these learned converts were employed by Alphonso to make versions from the works of Averroes, Avicenna, and other distinguished Arabian authors.

The successors of Alphonso had not the same taste for letters, but nevertheless they equally protected the Jews, who were frequently intrusted with the management of the finances of the kingdom. In this situation they acquitted themselves with great ability, and the revenue prospered greatly under their superintendence. Thus, during the minority of Alphonso XI., a Jew, by name Don Joseph, exercised the function of a treasurer. When the king came of age, he for some time retained Joseph in his office; but at last he is said to have discovered a considerable deficit in his accounts, or at least he pretended to have made such a discovery. He dismissed the Jew, and committed his finances to the management of Christians. But he was not long in discovering that he had not made a change for the better; the revenue was ill collected, and he was frequently at a loss for money. Don Joseph was therefore recalled to the post from which he had been discarded, and the royal treasury was once more in a flourishing state. Alphonso was now so well satisfied of the superior ability of the Jews in the management of the finances, that when in the cortes of Madrid in 1309, a powerful conspiracy was formed against Joseph, and a strong remonstrance was addressed to the king on the impropriety of retaining an Israelite in so in-

fluent situation, he resolutely refused to part with him, and thus defeated the machinations of his enemies. At this time the Jews were allowed to exact interest to the amount of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. ; an exorbitant rate, which could not fail to excite many murmurs among those who were subjected to it. And even during the period of their greatest prosperity, while they were looked on with favor by the kings, well aware of their excellence as subjects, they were regarded with jealousy and dislike by the cortes, which seldom omitted an opportunity of endeavoring to thwart the wise and mild policy of the sovereign. Nor was their own conduct so prudent as it should have been. Conscious of their wealth and influence at court, they too frequently exhibited a haughty demeanor towards their adversaries, and thus still more exasperated the nobles and citizens against them. From the clergy they had no good will to expect, and probably in their case all efforts at conciliation must have been hopeless.

Peter the Cruel was equally favorable to the Jews ; and his protection of them was imputed to him as a crime by his brother, Henry of Transtamara, when he aspired to the crown. That prince obtained a body of French troops, commanded by the famous Bertrand de Guesalin, to support his pretensions ; and these auxiliaries, when they entered Spain, proclaimed their resolution to exterminate the Jews. In several places they acted up to their profession, and massacred all who refused to submit to baptism. Influenced by gratitude to their royal protector, the Jews of Burgos made a desperate resistance to Henry's troops ; giving perhaps the only instance on record of such faithful attachment in the Hebrew sub-

jects of a Christian sovereign. When Peter was murdered by his brother, his Jewish treasurer, Samuel Levi, shared the same fate. But however Henry might affect horror at the protection which his predecessor had extended towards the Jews, he found it convenient on his accession to continue their privileges to them, and defend them from the machinations of their numerous and inveterate enemies. It was during the reign of one of these Castilian princes, that a courtier said, in the hearing of the queen, "For a long time the church and the synagogue have stood almost close to one another; and both Christians and Jews have worshipped in peace, neither molesting or obstructing the devotions of the other." The queen answered, "Well! may these two buildings continue thus in peaceful juxtaposition, until both fall to ruin from the progress of decay!" Happy would it have been for Europe, if all her monarchs had participated in the excellent spirit which dictated this truly royal prayer!

In the rival kingdom of Arragon, the Jews had never enjoyed such favor as in Castile. They were not allowed to exact more than twenty per cent. of interest, and various restrictions were from time to time imposed upon them. Yet, for a considerable time, they appear to have enjoyed a fair share of prosperity, to which their unremitting industry justly entitled them. The seaports of Catalonia, which formed part of the kingdom of Arragon, gave great facilities for trade; and during the latter portion of the middle ages, the Arragonese diligently devoted themselves to commercial pursuits. The Jews shared with their Christian fellow-subjects in the benefits arising from their skilful use of their maritime position; except at

Barcelona, which for a time became the rival of Venice and Genoa in the extent of its trade. The Barcelonese were exceedingly jealous of strangers, whether Christians or Jews, and by various municipal enactments, excluded them from all participation in those lucrative employments, the profits of which they were eager to engross to themselves.

The clergy of Arragon were especially active in their endeavors to bring the Jews within the pale of the church. In order to facilitate the accomplishment of this object, Raymond de Permafort, a celebrated pulpit orator, prevailed upon the king to establish professorships of Hebrew in the universities. The monks vigorously applied themselves to the study of this language, and sought every opportunity of bringing their newly acquired knowledge to bear upon their controversies with the rabbins. These contests excited so much attention, that James the First of Arragon, ordered a public disputation to take place in his presence at Barcelona in 1263. Each party chose their most able polemic. The Christian champion was Father Paul Christiani, who for several years had distinguished himself by his zeal for the conversion of the Jews. His opponent was a celebrated rabbin named Moses. The court, the clergy, and a vast concourse of persons from every part of the kingdom, were present at this conference, which was conducted on both sides with consummate ability and erudition; but as usual on such occasions, neither of the disputants would allow himself to be worsted. Two years afterwards, Christiani had a similar debate with another rabbin, but with as little effect. The king, incited by the pressing remonstrances of the pope, now banished the advocate of

Judaism from the kingdom; and sent Christiani into all the principal towns to hold conferences with the Jews, and endeavor to bring them over to the religion of the Gospel. He was likewise enjoined to order them everywhere to bring their books to him, that he might see if there was anything hostile to Christianity in them. They were obliged to comply with this command; and Christiani, with the assistance of various zealous monks, tore out all the passages in the rabbinical volumes, which in any measure militated against the true faith. They complained of this harsh usage to the king, who ordered them to bring all their books to Barcelona, that they might there be carefully examined by competent authority. With this injunction they complied but partially, and secreted a great number of their most valuable tomes, fearing that the clergy of Barcelona would prove as unscrupulous inquisitors as Christiani and his associates. Their fears were not groundless. The Barcelonese ecclesiastics destroyed or mutilated every volume in which there was anything hostile to the Gospel. The obnoxious passages thus examined and detected, became of great service to Raymond Martin, a Dominican monk, well versed in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Chaldee; who soon after published a work against Judaism, under the title of "The Dagger of the Faith." This book consists of extracts from the Jewish writers, showing the opposition of their doctrines to those of the Christian faith; the quotations are accompanied with critical, and often very severe, remarks. Raymond has, however, been accused by Jewish authors of great incompetence, or great unfairness, in his choice of citations from the rabbins; and his book is represented by them as giving by no means



an accurate idea either of the tenets of Judaism, or the feelings which its supporters cherish towards Christians.

One of the most remarkable events which occurs in the history of the Jews in Spain, is the disputation which was held at Tortosa in the beginning of the fifteenth century. This conference took place in presence of the antipope, Peter de Luna, who had assumed the name of Benedict XIII. ; and though deserted by all the rest of Europe, was still acknowledged in Arragon as the sovereign pontiff. He was persuaded of the utility of such a meeting by his physician, a converted Hebrew ; who, since his profession of Christianity, had taken the name of Hieronymo de Santa Fe. This person while still a Jew, had acquired a considerable amount of rabbinical learning, and he was exceedingly anxious to make use of it in a polemical contest with his former friends. Benedict acceded to his request, and gave him as coadjutors, Alvarez d'Alarcon and Andrea Bertrand, two of the most able divines attached to his court. The Jews, though somewhat averse to the conference, did not dare to decline it, and sent several of their most learned rabbins to oppose Hieronymo and his associates. The disputations lasted several months ; and at their termination, the Spanish writers state, that all the rabbins, with the exception of two, confessed themselves vanquished, and acknowledged their willingness to receive baptism. But the Jewish authors are altogether silent with respect to these conversions of the supporters of their cause. If they really took place, it is to be feared that they were in no small degree owing to the intimations which Benedict, before the conclusion of the conference, had given of his intention to issue an edict against the

Israelites. This design he shortly after carried into effect; and his bull contained, in fact, almost an entire code of restrictions upon the professors of Judaism. The Jews were to deliver up, to the chapters of the different dioceses, every copy of the Talmud, or any commentary upon it, which they might have in their possession; they were to abstain from reading any work prejudicial to Christianity; they were forbidden to act as judges, or to practise any trade or profession which might place Christians in their power; they were excluded from the most ordinary acts of social intercourse with true believers. Nowhere was more than one synagogue to be allowed; and in every city, town, and village, the Hebrews were to occupy a separate quarter from the Christians, as if their very neighborhood was contaminating. There were many other articles in the bull which bore equally hard upon the condition of the Jews. But the authority of Benedict was confined to the dominions of Arragon; and even there, it does not appear to have been so great as to secure the enforcement of his decree. Yet the provisions contained in it were adopted in many respects as a model by succeeding pontiffs, as Paul IV. and Pius V.; who, on this occasion, did not scruple to avail themselves of the enactments of a schismatical antipope.

After the conference at Tortosa, the Dominicans labored with increasing zeal and industry for the conversion of the Jews. It seemed as if their order had been instituted for no other purpose than that of making assaults upon the Israelitish faith. Their most acute polemics, and their most eloquent preachers were alike enlisted in this cause; and alike endeavored, in their respective spheres, to accelerate its progress. But the

most devoted and the most successful of these missionaries was Vincent Ferrier; a man who displayed, in his own sphere, the unwearied zeal and energy of Wesley or Whitfield. He possessed many qualities which fitted him admirably for the task he had undertaken; his eloquence was vehement and pathetic, his devotion to the church unbounded, his ardor indefatigable, and his life not merely irreproachable, but remarkable for austerity and self-denial. Milner, whose authority in such matters is deservedly high, has characterized him as, "a shining model of piety," and "a zealous preacher of the word of God." He passed from city to city, calling upon all men to repent and believe the Gospel, and very great success is said to have attended his eloquent preaching. The covetous abandoned the pursuit of gain by unlawful means; the quarrelsome assumed a more meek and humble deportment; the licentious made open confession of their sins, and began in earnest to lead a more Christian life; in short, among all classes there was a marked and visible reformation of manners. Vincent was regarded as a saint of the highest order; and when, mounted on his mule, he made his entry into a city, town, or village, his humble equipage attracted an attention, and called forth a respect, which kings and princes might have been proud to receive. But, much as he labored for the general reformation of manners, in Spain at least his chief efforts were directed towards the conversion of the Jews, and his zeal and energy are said to have been rewarded with the most extensive and brilliant success. According to one account, 20,000, according to another 35,000 Jews were persuaded by him of the truth of Christianity, and were received by baptism into

the church. We may suspect that the numbers are exaggerated, or believe that even if they are correct, many of these converts were actuated by other than truly pious motives in renouncing their former faith; but it appears unreasonable to think that no real and lasting benefit would accrue from the labors of one who spent his strength in the cause which he had espoused, and who gave the best evidence of his sincerity by constantly declining the honors and rewards, which many would have pressed upon him, preferring to live and die as an itinerant missionary.

By one means or another, a great number of Jews were at this time brought over to the profession at least, if not to the belief, of the Christian religion; and some of the new converts gave sufficient proof of their zeal by earnest and unwearied efforts for the enlightenment of their brethren. Several of the most able and learned of these men were raised to high dignities in the church, as if to prove that Israelitish descent was no bar to any reward or honor which its possessors might merit. Solomon Halevi, a distinguished rabbin, having embraced Christianity, was made bishop of Burgos, and chancellor of Castile; his sons also obtained high preferment in the church. But whatever might be the favor shown to particular converts, it is certain that the "new Christians," as they were called, were in general regarded with distrust. They had lost the confidence of their Jewish brethren, who denounced them as renegades and apostates, while they had not gained the favor of the Christians, who suspected them of a secret leaning to Judaism. Nor does it appear that these suspicions were altogether groundless. Though they outwardly joined in

the worship of the church, they in secret practised many of the rites of that faith, which had become endeared to them by long habit and numerous associations. These "new Christians" became the especial objects of the jealousy and persecution of the inquisition. That execrable tribunal practised against these miserable men all the artifice and cruelty, which it exerted in a former age against the Albigenses, and at a later period against the Protestants. Every method was used to obtain information respecting the secret customs of the new converts; and if they were convicted of practising any Jewish ceremonies, they were punished without mercy. Thus, at Toledo in 1486, 750 new Christians who had relapsed, were compelled to do penance barefoot, and with tapers in their hands, before a great concourse of people; and, at the same time, twenty-seven were burnt alive. Those whose lives were spared, were punished with imprisonment or ruinous fines.

Perhaps the Jews, who had steadily adhered to their religion, might view without much commiseration, or even with something like satisfaction, the sufferings endured by those, who had made a profession of the hated Christian creed. For a while they were unmolested; because no sophistry could possibly bring them within the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, whose province was only to take cognizance of the delinquencies of those who had once professed the Catholic faith, and had afterwards secretly or openly renounced it. But their turn came at last, and the same bigotry which had displayed itself in the persecution of the "new Christians," now spent its rage upon the unconverted Jews. The two kingdoms of Arragon and Castile had been united by

the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Spanish historians record, with equal triumph, as the two most glorious incidents of their reign, the conquest of Granada, and the expulsion of the Israelites.

The decree was signed March, 1492, that in four months, every Jew, native or sojourner, should quit the realms of Arragon, Castile, and Granada, never more to return under penalty of death, and confiscation of goods; and the justice of the Inquisition was denounced against all who should harbor or conceal a Jew after that time. All property might be carried with them, but not in the substance of gold or silver, or the other articles usually forbidden to be removed from Spain. Bills of exchange might be taken instead of plate, jewels, or coin. But this indulgence sounds better than was realized by the event; for, as the time approached for their departure, the property to be sold exceeded the demand, the most wary purchasers reserving their offers to the last extremity of the hapless victims, who then were glad, it is said, to barter a house for an ass; or a vineyard, for a few yards of linen cloth. Many of the Jews abstained from selling, hoping to the last moment, that some favorable change would intervene to prevent the final catastrophe; but they were deceived; for Torquemada, the Inquisitor-general (whose extended titles Zurita rehearses with pompous delight, and whom some Protestants have denominated the first-born of hell), hearing that the wealthiest Jews had attempted to divert the purpose of the Court by a bribe of 600,000 crowns, Thomas Torquemada, like Thomas Becket of old, rushed into the presence, and upbraided the sovereigns for their half-inclination to sell their Saviour to the Jews for pieces of sil-

ver. He issued an edict by his own authority, prohibiting all traffic with Jews, for a term considerably within that of their banishment by the Royal proclamation; and thus incalculably multiplied the losses to which they were previously liable. But throughout the kingdom of Arragon, which included Valencia and Catalonia, where all Jews were vassals to the crown or to the ecclesiastical lordships, a general sequestration of their property was made by commissioners empowered to liquidate speedily all dues and debts that should be claimed, as well as all rents and taxes for the current year, and to hand over the remainder to the claimants of the property thus disposed of. The synagogues were probably not accounted private property, and therefore their value could be rendered to no individuals, i. e. that no Jews were entitled to claim their produce. They were generally converted into churches or convents; as, for instance, that of Merida, into a church dedicated to Sta. Catalina, Virgin and Martyr. It is easy to perceive how open this sequestration lay to extensive speculation, yet it was probably more advantageous than private sales at random.

As the term drew near, the ascendant party must have regarded the harassed Jew, with such a burning intensity of assured victory, as the hawk feels while fluttering fixedly above his prey. The resource of baptism remained, subject however to the vigilance of the holy office, and many yielded to the powerful temptation; but the end of July saw multitudes of noble-minded Israelites forsake their homes, their fathers' graves, and all their old associations of infancy and ancestry, to wander they knew not whither, with a dignified triumph of passive



courage! Zurita reckons their number at 170,000; Cardoso, at 120,000; Miguel de Barrios and Mariana, at 800,000; and it is said, that notwithstanding all their losses in the breaking up of their property, they carried off thirty million ducats.

Abarbanel's\* narration, in his preface to the Books of Kings, deserves attention and sympathy;—"When the Royal proclamation was announced, I was at court, and wearied myself to frenzy in imploring compassion. Thrice on my knees I besought the king, 'Regard us, O king; use not thy subjects with so much cruelty; rather exact from us our gold and silver vessels, or abundant gifts, even all that every Jew possesses, if he may still abide in his country.' I entreated likewise my friends, the king's officers, to allay his indignation against my people. I implored the councillors to advise the king, each in his turn, to recall the decree. But as the adder closes her ear with dust against the voice of the charmer, so the king hardened his heart against the prayers of his suppliants, and declared that he would not revoke his edict to gain all the wealth of the Jews. At his right hand was the queen, the Jews' enemy, urging him with an angry voice to pursue what he had so happily commenced. We exhausted all our power for the removal of the king's sentence, but there was no wisdom nor help remaining. Our nation, wherever the decree had been proclaimed, or its fame had spread, bewailed their condition with a great wailing. Tossed in these fearful billows, they exhorted and confirmed the minds of each other. Whatever befalls, let us surmount every

\* This celebrated Rabbi was born at Lisbon in Portugal in 1437, and boasted a lineal descent from King David.

calamity for the honor of our nation, and our religion, by a brave endurance; let us defend these from the hateful persecutors. If they leave us our life, we will live; if they take it from us, we will die; but never let us violate our holy law, the fulness of our affections, or the counsel of wisdom. O rather (and may God turn it all to good) let us abandon our settlements, and seek for homes elsewhere. Thus excited, there departed in one day 300,000 on foot and unarmed, collected from every province, the young and the old, infants and women, all ready to go in any direction. Of that number was I; and with God for our leader, we set out."

Those of Castile took refuge in Portugal—about 20,000 families, according to Conestaggio; where they were admitted on the payment of eight gold ducats for each person, children at the breast excepted, but with the stipulation of becoming slaves if found in the country after a stated day; artificers in brass or iron were admitted at four ducats each, and invited to remain in Portugal. The frontiers were lined with tax-gatherers for the occasion, and the Royal treasure must have become rapidly augmented.

Those of the northern provinces fled to Navarre, or took shipping for strange countries. The ports of Cadiz, Sta. Maria, Carthagen, Valencia, and Barcelona, were thronged with suppliants for leave to embark at any price, for Morocco, Italy, or Greece, since death and confiscation were behind them. Their sufferings during these voyages, at the mercy of the vilest of mercenary ship-masters, are horrible to recount. After exacting large sums for the passage, some burned or wrecked their vessels while at sea, escaping themselves in their

boats, and carrying off the goods of the Jews. Others starved their victims; and when famine induced fever or the plague, put them ashore to perish. One ship's crew were about to murder their Jewish passengers for the sake of their property, or, as they expressed it, to revenge the death of Jesus Christ; but a Christian merchant on board reminded them, that Christ died to save men's lives, and therefore his death was a blessing to the world. So the Jews were only carried to a barren coast, and left entirely naked on the beach; there they found a spring of fresh water; but in climbing the rocks by night, to look for tokens of human habitations, several of them were seized and devoured by lions. Five days they abode there, till the crew of a passing ship, perceiving naked people on the shore, brought them on board, provided shifts for the women, and tore up old sails to clothe the men; they gave them food, and conveyed them to a certain port, where, when the inhabitants inquired if he had slaves for sale, the ship-master nobly answered, No! but delivered the poor Jews to their brethren in the city, on payment of reasonable expenses; these gladly made him an additional present, "praying God for his safety, and that he would prolong his life to a happy old age."

Those who arrived at Fez were so numerous that the inhabitants shut the gates against them, leaving the Jews exposed to the African July sun in the open plain, with no food but the small quantity of grass which at the season could be found; and as they died, the survivors were too much enfeebled to bury their relatives. Some sold their children for bread; but after a time the king obtained supplies of food, which he freely distributed, and restored the children without ransom.

At Sallee, the crew of a large ship enticed the starving Jewish children on board, to the number of 150, with pieces of bread, and then sailed away. The mothers ran screaming along the beach, imploring compassion, but in vain; their children were conveyed to a distant African port and sold into slavery.

Amid such distressing events, various anecdotes are given of personal suffering and constancy, peculiarly Jewish. Some victims were discharged from a ship upon a desolate island, on the plea of pestilence. Of these some died of hunger; others, with more strength, walked forward to search for a human habitation. One of the latter had a wife and two infants, the wife died of fatigue, and himself fainted; on recovering, he found his two babes already dead, but even in this extremity he cried aloud his firm resolve to live and die in the Mosaic religion; then, gathering up sand and gravel, he heaped a pile above his head, and hasted to rejoin his fellow-sufferers, who had, meanwhile, gained some distance before him; "for at the brink of death every one cares for himself and not for another." One mother was known to snatch up a large stone as her infant son lay in the agony of death, and strike him on the head till he died, herself expiring almost immediately from the exertion she had used. And it is boasted that during the famine in the fields before Fez, the Jews refrained from even seeking grass or roots on the Sabbath day. A breaking up of family connexions must have taken place to a great extent. After some time, there settled in Barbary a company of two hundred widows, some of whom knew their husbands to be dead, but having no children were bound to marry their husbands' brothers; and as these

could not be found, were precluded from marrying again. Others had missed their husbands, but could not be assured of their death, and were thus unable to marry. These all uniting their sympathies and little property, reached Sallee and dwelt all together, laboring diligently with their hands, and setting apart all the earnings above their own moderate expenditure, for the purposes of religion and education.

Of the Jews who directed their course to Christian countries, nine caravels full arrived at Naples, already infected with diseases arising from the hardships and privations of the voyage. This pestilence was communicated to the city, and carried off 20,000 inhabitants. Others repaired to Genoa during a famine there; the citizens allowed them to land, but met them with bread in one hand and a crucifix in the other, to intimate that baptism was to be the price of appeasing their hunger. Many, instead of disembarking at Genoa, proceeded to Rome, at which influx the Jews of the Ghetto were so much alarmed, that they offered the Pope a bribe of a thousand ducats that he should prohibit the arrival of the strangers. Alexander was justly indignant at such a proposal, not only inhuman, but especially contrary to the fraternal spirit of the Jews, and threatened to eject them to make room for the unfortunate exiles; to avert which disaster the Roman Jews received their brethren, and presented the Pontiff with 2,000 ducats.

Speedily after the expatriation of the Jews, and during the hottest reign of the Inquisition, the vaunted Royal descent, in both Spain and Portugal, became extinct; and in the former of these, a succession of mad or idiotic sovereigns, has tended greatly to make mon-

archy itself a laughing-stock for the Infidel and the Republican. Reverses in connected sequence have shown the hollowness of that empire upon whose territories the sun could not set; the colonies one by one have vanished; Naples and the Netherlands have been lost; the population of the Peninsula, which in the ninth century was forty millions, is now reduced to between ten and eleven millions, that of Toledo is dwindled from two hundred thousand to twenty thousand; the national politics are distracted between the democracy, with its fierce Tragala, and the bigotry of the middle-age Camarillas, each party so lately rivaling the other in cold unflinching butchery; the realm is bankrupt, without a navy, and left naked to her enemies, a reproach for every passer-by.

Ferdinand and Isabella were, in the main, wise and sagacious sovereigns; their joint reign is regarded by Spanish authors as the era of the greatest prosperity of the country which they governed; but the expulsion of the Jews was as impolitic as it was inhuman. It is almost the only blot on the memory of Isabella, who is usually deemed one of the purest characters that ever filled a throne; and is termed by Lord Bacon "an honor to her sex," as well as "the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain." She was, however, with all her virtues, a slave to Romish bigotry; and was induced to consent to this deed of darkness, because the priests, by whom she was surrounded, assured her that it was sinful to admit any other creed within her dominions than that inculcated by the Infallible Church. Her husband was a selfish, crafty prince, who never scrupled to commit any crime which seemed to be for his interest; but in this

instance he overreached himself, and in so far forfeited his claim to the title given him by our great poet,

“The *wisest* king that ever ruled in Spain.”\*

We have said that many of the unfortunate Israelites when expelled from Spain, took refuge in Portugal. Though the Jews in that country never enjoyed the favor, which for a time they had possessed in Spain, yet their condition was by no means severe, and they possessed the privilege of having judges of their own nation in every town, who took cognizance of civil matters; criminal cases being referred to the jurisdiction of the Christian tribunals. These Jewish judges were subject to the control of superior officers of their own nation, of whom there were seven, one for each of the principal towns in the seven provinces of the kingdom, and these in their turn were superintended by the great rabbin, who resided at Lisbon, was appointed by the king, and took care that the inferior judges administered justice impartially. His decisions could only be reversed by the sovereign himself. The Portuguese Jews devoted themselves to commerce and literature, and distinguished themselves in both careers. In the fifteenth century several rabbins of great reputation proceeded from the academy of Lisbon; which promised in course of time to rival even the great Spanish school† of Seville and

\* An instance of the fond attachment of the Jews to Spain is afforded by the fact, that even in the seventeenth century, those settled in Germany used to visit that country, for the purpose of procuring for the feast of tabernacles branches of the citron-trees, under the shade of which their forefathers had so often reposed.

† It is stated that of the literati of Spain the Jews were the most prominent. Of Jews, 561 have written on philology, twenty on astrology, sixty-seven have written commentaries of various kinds, eighty-four on philosophy, fifty-two on grammar, thirty-



Toledo, so justly celebrated in a former age. Some of the most renowned scholars who adorned this institution were, David Jachai, who was deeply versed in grammar, poetry, philosophy and theology, and highly esteemed by Alfonso V.; Isaac Avuhaf, who died in 1493, author of the *Menoraas Hammor*, or *Lamp of Light*, in which he taught that the sayings of the wise men were to be received as the words of God; and Moses ben Thabiba, a talmudist of vast learning, whose work on grammar, entitled *Arcenoam*, has been printed at Venice. There were also several Jewish physicians of great skill and reputation; two of whom, by name Joseph and Rodrigo, were employed by John II. to draw up astronomical tables for the use of the ships employed in his African expeditions. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews were both distinguished for the beauty and correctness of their calligraphy, and copies of the sacred books written by them were much sought after by their brethren in other countries. Some of these manuscripts have escaped the ravages of time and bigotry, and are now preserved in the great libraries throughout Europe. When the art of printing was invented, the Portuguese Jews availed themselves of it, and printed several of the best works of their distinguished writers. These books are well executed on good paper, and are considered very creditable specimens of the typography of the fifteenth century. The most highly valued of the works, which proceeded from the Hebrew press at Lisbon, is a beautiful edition of the Pentateuch, with the Chaldean paraphrase of Onkelos, and the commentary of Solomon Jarchi. This

six on medicine, eighteen on history, eighteen on mathematics, fifty-seven poets, sixty-eight Talmudists, nineteen theologians, and seventy-three translators.

book is in two quarto volumes, and was carefully printed after the most ancient and correct Spanish manuscripts; so that it is highly esteemed among the Jews, and has served as the model of several subsequent editions. It has now become very rare, but there is a copy in the Royal Library at Paris. From the same press proceeded, in 1492, executed with nearly equal elegance, the Prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, with the commentary of David Kimchi; from which, however, all the passages that could give offence to the Christians were carefully removed.

The Jewish emigrants from Spain were only admitted into Portugal on payment of a certain tribute; and no sooner had King John enriched himself at their expense, than he issued an edict, commanding them to leave the kingdom, to embrace Christianity, or to become slaves. Ten months were allowed them for deliberation. At the end of that time many either not knowing whither to retire, or not possessing the means of transporting themselves to other countries, actually passed into a state of servitude. This harsh sentence, however, only affected the refugees from Spain; the native Jews continued unmolested. The wealth which many of these latter had obtained, provoked indeed the jealousy of the cortes; who at various times remonstrated with the king on the toleration, and even indulgence, extended to a class of persons, whose unbelief, they seemed to think, should have excluded them from any such privileges. But their representations appear to have been attended with little success.

The next king, Manuel, began his reign by restoring liberty to the unfortunate emigrants, and from him the

Jews might have entertained hopes of protection and favor; but unfortunately he married a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and imbibed the sentiments of the royal house with which he allied himself. Scarcely four years had elapsed since the Jews had been expelled from Spain, when, in 1496, Manuel issued an edict to the same effect, banishing them from his dominions. He even outstripped the Spanish sovereigns in their merciless bigotry, for he ordered that all the Jewish children under fourteen years of age should be torn from their parents, in order to be brought up in the Christian faith. We are told by Samuel Usque, a rabbinical writer, that many of his wretched countrymen, on hearing the cruel terms of this decree, killed themselves in despair; and this is confirmed by Osorio, the Portuguese historian, who adds, that the conduct of the king was indeed unjust, but that the holiness of his intentions sanctioned the means by which he sought to attain them; thus giving an example how thoroughly the Romish faith blinds the moral perceptions of those who acquiesce in its dogmas.

Many of the Portuguese Jews chose to abjure their religion, rather than leave their children and their country; others, who were resolved to emigrate, destroyed their offspring with their own hands, in order that they might not be educated in that faith, which its professed votaries had caused them so thoroughly to abhor. The new converts endeavored to protect themselves against persecution, by stipulating with the government, that the inquisition should not be established in Portugal for the space of twenty years; and that, even if it should, at the expiration of that period, be introduced, the accused might have the power of becoming acquainted before-

hand with the names of the witnesses against them; and that, in the case of condemnation, the property of the sufferer should not be taken from his family. These stipulations too evidently show the insincerity of their conversion, and the danger in which they knew that it would involve them. Those Jews who preferred banishment to apostasy were treated in various places with the utmost cruelty. At Lisbon, the populace plundered their houses, dishonored their wives and daughters, and even put many of them to death. We are told by Jewish authors, that the monks were the instigators of these atrocities; and even encouraged the multitude to commit them, by promising indulgences to every one who should kill an Israelite. Those who were fortunate enough to depart in safety from the kingdom, found a shelter either in Italy, or at Constantinople; where, though they have, like Christians themselves, always been despised by the Turks, they have not been subjected to those dreadful persecutions, which have befallen them in countries professing the religion of the Gospel.

The "new Christians," who remained in the kingdom, were looked upon with suspicion by the clergy and the people. In 1506, one of them imprudently discovered an imposture which a monk was practising upon a crowd of admiring spectators; holding up a crucifix to their view, and bidding them observe the light which streamed from it, a manifest appearance, as he intimated, of the Saviour himself. The Jew, whose eyes were not blinded by superstition, saw a lamp behind the mysterious crucifix, and made known his discovery in a taunting manner. The enraged multitude seized him, dragged him out of the church, and tore him to pieces. His brother, who

stood lamenting his fate, was butchered for his expressions of natural feeling. Nor were they contented with this demonstration of their bigoted zeal. Inflamed by the exhortations of two Dominican monks, they attacked the new converts on all sides, and massacred them. Even the churches afforded no refuge to the wretched beings who fled thither; they were dragged from the sanctuaries, and put to death without mercy. The slaughter continued three days, during which we are assured that 2000 of the new Christians perished. The magistrates, either through fear, or a secret approbation of these excesses, took no measures to prevent them. When King Manuel was informed of the massacre, he professed the uttermost abhorrence of the perpetrators; and gave orders for the execution of the two monks, who had been the ringleaders of the furious mob. By degrees, the attachment of the Jewish converts to the Hebrew rites died away. The inquisition was introduced into Portugal in 1536, for the purpose of watching over their conduct, as well as of stifling the incipient progress of Protestantism; and its institution was at length attended with the desired effect. Portugal sunk into the most slavish superstition, and most thorough conformity to the follies and heresies of Popery. No voice was raised in any quarter of the kingdom against that accursed tyranny, which enslaved the souls of men, and bound them fast as it were in adamant chains.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Persecutions of the Jews in Switzerland—They are protected by the Emperors—The Black Death—Horrible Cruelties inflicted on the Jews at Strasburg—Persecutions in Brabant—Jews in England—William Rufus—Henry II.—Massacre of the Jews at York—Enactments made against Usury—The Jews first favored, and afterwards persecuted by John—Exactions of Henry III.—Expulsion by Edward I. (Between 1288 and 1394—1519.)

IF we turn from the south of Europe towards the north, we shall find that in almost every country the Jews were more or less exposed to hardships and persecution. At Berne, in Switzerland, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the body of an infant was found, with evident marks of having come to its death by violence. Immediately a cry was raised that the Jews had perpetrated this nefarious crime. Some of them were seized, and put to the torture; writhing with agony, they confessed what their persecutors desired, and were in consequence broken on the wheel. Their brethren were obliged to flee from a city, which had so unequivocally declared its hostility to them. They complained to Rodolph of Hapsburg, the liege lord of Berne. He espoused their cause, and ordered the Bernese to receive them again peaceably. They refused; and Rodolph in consequence assembled his forces, in order to compel them to obedience. He died, however, before he could carry his design into effect. Long after his demise, the Bernese agreed to re-admit the Jews, upon condition of their paying 1000 marks to the city, and 500 to the *bailli* or chief magistrate. A French historian very justly observes, that the Bernese ought rather to have paid a considerable sum to

the Jews, as an indemnification for the injuries they had received. About the same time, the magistracy of Lucerne, more wise than their Bernese brethren, forbade their fellow-citizens to accuse the Jews of crucifying children, or insult them in any other manner.

The same fanaticism which had exposed the Jews of Berne to persecution, some time afterwards burst forth in various other cities of Switzerland, and menaced the unfortunate Israelites with destruction. A man at Dissenhofen on the Rhine, having been found guilty of murdering a child, asserted that a Jew named Michael had offered him three florins for the blood of a Christian child. Immediately the fury of the populace burst forth ; no inquiry was instituted into the truth of a story, so suspicious from the character of the narrator, and the circumstances in which he promulgated it. The unfortunate Israelite was condemned to the flames ; the murderer was broken on the wheel. The mania spread to other parts of Switzerland ; the people of Zurich demanded the execution of the Jews. The magistrates with great difficulty preserved the lives of the unhappy Israelites, who were at last allowed to leave the city without molestation, upon paying a fine of 1500 florins. In the towns of Schaffhausen and Winterthur, thirty-eight Jews perished at the stake ; and their brethren sought a refuge in other countries from the fury of a bigoted and senseless mob.

We are informed by a monkish historian, that the Emperor Albert I. sent an embassy to Philip the Fair of France, demanding all the Jews in his kingdom as of right belonging to himself ; being transmitted to him with the other privileges of the Roman emperors, whose representative he claimed to be. It is certain that he treated



the Israelites with far greater favor than his French contemporary, and vigorously repressed the tumults which were excited in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, upon the occasion of the arrival in those districts of various bodies of emigrants, who took refuge from the tyranny of Philip. The German emperors considered the Jews as more especially their property, and granted only for considerable sums, to the great barons and cities of the empire, the privilege of possessing Jews, that is, of making laws with respect to them, and imposing tribute upon them. Perceiving their unwearied industry, and the wealth which it enabled them to acquire, the emperors and princes protected them against the bigotry and violence of the clergy and the populace, and encouraged them by various enactments to reside in their dominions. If, on the one hand, they were prevented from possessing land, or acquiring the right of citizenship; they were exempted on the other, from the heavy taxes to which the burgesses were liable, and probably deemed the former invidious distinctions amply compensated by the latter practical advantage.

But no exertion of imperial or princely authority could always prevent the popular fanaticism from breaking out, and marking its horrible course by bloodshed and desolation. In the year 1290, the multitude rose against the Jews in the city of Prague; and thence the torrent of fanaticism spread on all sides, until it had ravaged Bohemia, Moravia, and the neighboring parts of Germany. Everywhere the miserable Jews were dragged from their dwellings, and massacred in cold blood, while the infuriated mob gloated with savage delight over their expiring agonies. The authorities were either paralyzed

by the suddenness and combination of the outbreak, or secretly rejoiced that the hated race of Israel had suffered, without their being exposed to any odium as the actual perpetrators. This was one of the most sanguinary persecutions to which the unfortunate race of Abraham has been subjected, for we are informed by contemporary historians, that no fewer than 10,000 persons perished.

We have already mentioned that, when a pestilence broke out in France in the year 1321, the Jews were accused as the cause of it, and exposed on that account to grievous injuries. But a much more general and sanguinary persecution took place in the year 1348, when a terrible disease, known by the name of the *black death*, invaded and desolated Europe. This plague, like its awful counterpart the cholera of our own day, came from India, passed through Egypt, Syria and Greece, and seized upon every part of Europe in turn. It carried off an immense number of people, who generally died on the second or third day after they were attacked by the disease. The imperfect state of the medical art at that time prevented any effectual remedy from being suggested or adopted. Ignorant of the real causes of this tremendous visitation, the credulous multitude everywhere accused the Jews of poisoning the rivers and fountains, and polluting the atmosphere by magical arts. In vain did the miserable Israelites protest their innocence; in vain did they adduce the testimony of the most eminent physicians, who declared that the accusations were groundless and absurd; in vain did they point to the deaths among themselves, which proved that they possessed no control over an evil from which they suffered so severely; the mob would not listen to reason, and ob-

stinately clung to their ridiculous prejudices. The sovereigns of the different countries, and the magistrates of the various cities, through which the pestilence passed, would willingly, if they could, have protected the Jews from the effects of a popular fury, which they knew or suspected to be so uncalled for; but they found it in vain to attempt to make head against the fanaticism of so awfully excited a period. Albert, Duke of Austria, endeavored to save the Jews in his dominions from the exasperated populace; but not only was he unsuccessful in his efforts; he was himself obliged to play the bloody fanatic, and actually delivered 300 unhappy Israelites to the flames at Kyburg. But nowhere was the treatment of the Jews more atrocious than at Strasburg. There the civic authorities had shown symptoms of a desire to protect them from their enemies, when the populace rose in sedition, and deposed them, installing in their room others, who would willingly co-operate with them in their sanguinary schemes. The new magistrates caused several Jews to be arrested and put to the torture, which wrung from them a confession that they were guilty of the imputed crime. No more was necessary to ensure their punishment; they were hurried away to the place of execution and broke on the wheel. Their brethren throughout the city were arrested and imprisoned. But the impatient multitude would not wait until these miserable Israelites had been condemned by the forms of law; they eagerly desired a speedier and a more summary punishment. They rushed to attack the prison, forced the doors, and dragged their trembling victims to an open space, which afforded sufficient room for the dreadful deed which they were about to commit. They

next plundered the houses of the Jews, and collected from them, and from other quarters, a vast heap of combustible materials. Upon this pile they placed their victims, without regard to age or sex, and after having kindled the fire, they testified by the most savage shouts the pleasure afforded them by the spectacle of the sufferings of the wretched Hebrews. In all the bloody annals of Pagan or Popish persecution, there is not a deed that calls for louder indignation than this cold-blooded massacre of two thousand unoffending Israelites, for such, according to the most authentic accounts, was the number of the victims who perished in the flames. From this time till the period of the French revolution, no Jew was allowed to reside within the walls of the city; they might enter it during the day-time to transact business, but every evening at a fixed hour a horn was blown from the tower of the cathedral, as a signal for their departure. The spot where the terrible conflagration took place is now known by the name of Brand Strasse or Fire Street.\*

In Brabant the Jews were no less exposed to the fanatical fury of the populace. In 1326, a converted Israelite at Mons was accused of having struck a representation of the Virgin, which was painted upon the wall of the abbey of Cambron. The wall was alleged to have been covered with blood, doubtless of the wounded Virgin! The man was seized and put to the torture. Even

\* It was probably to one of the sufferers in that dreadful calamity that a tombstone was erected at Strasburg, which was discovered in the last century, and bore an inscription in Hebrew, containing a prayer that the soul of the deceased might be received into the number of the just in the garden of Eden. The expectation of a future life was the only consolation to persons whose condition was so miserable in this.

the agony occasioned by this horrible punishment could not force from him any confession of guilt, and he was released. But an officious farrier, pretending to have received from the Virgin in a dream a commission to avenge her honor, challenged the unfortunate Israelite to single combat. He did not dare to decline, because such a refusal would have been construed as tantamount to an acknowledgment of his guilt, and accordingly the contest took place within the walls of Mons. The weapons of the combatants were cudgels, and an immense concourse of people crowded to witness the result. The Jew proved unequal in the fight to his sturdy antagonist, and was laid prostrate by a well-aimed blow. The multitude cried out that this was a judgment from God, who had now shown the guilt of the daring wretch, who had previously added reiterated falsehoods to his original crime. They hung him up by the feet, and kindled a fire beneath him, in order to scorch him slowly to death.

Nearly half a century after this horrible execution, a still more atrocious crime was committed by the mob of Brussels. There was a report spread throughout Brabant, that the Jews had carried away from the principal church sixteen consecrated hosts, in order to pierce them with daggers and knives; a practice of which they were often accused in the middle ages. The blood is said to have spouted from the mangled hosts, and an old Jewess denounced the perpetrators to a priest. Upon this there was a universal cry of horror. The elders of the synagogue of Enghien were put to the torture, in order to wring from them a confession of the crime. Three were reserved for a yet more horrible fate. Their flesh was torn from their bodies with red-hot pincers, and they were

afterwards burnt alive on the 22d May, 1370, near the gate of Namur. One of these wretched men, by name Jonathan, had acquired great wealth by his successful commercial speculations. The other Jews were banished from Brabant, and were plundered of their effects, without any regard to their protestations of Innocence; the fact of their being Hebrews was held to be a sufficient proof of their guilt. But the fanatics of that period were not content with these demonstrations of their cruelty; they were resolved that the knowledge of deeds, which they considered so glorious, should not be lost upon posterity. Eighteen pictures were painted for the church of St. Gudule at Brussels, in which were represented all the principal circumstances of the case, even to the execution of the three elders of the synagogue. Still more effectually to guard against the possibility of all record of so noble a demonstration of zeal being lost, a sort of jubilee was instituted, which was to take place every fifty years, and in which the destruction of the Jews was to be celebrated by every mark of rejoicing. Such is still the fanatical spirit which prevails in the Netherlands, that at the last recurrence of this festival, namely, in 1820, the people of Brussels engaged in it with a spirit truly worthy of the descendants of the murderers of the miserable Jews. The sixteen wounded hosts were carried in procession, contained in a casket adorned with precious stones; the houses were hung with tapestry, and the streets strewed with flowers; there were banquets, concerts, fire-works, and a general illumination, in short, every mark of the most lively joy. Such is the spirit of Popery even in the nineteenth century; such is the profane mummary which in Romish countries passes for orthodox devotion!

If, from the Low Countries, we direct our attention to England, we shall find small reason to congratulate ourselves upon the tolerance and humanity of its inhabitants during the middle ages. In one respect the treatment of the Jews in England was more disgraceful to that country than to other parts of Europe; for, while elsewhere, as in Spain and Germany, the sovereigns generally exerted themselves to repress the hostility of the nobles and clergy and people, towards the Israelites, the English kings, with hardly one exception, showed themselves as thoroughly imbued with the persecuting spirit of the age as any of their subjects. It is not known at what period the Jews entered England. The first mention which is made of them is in the time of the Saxon heptarchy. In the year 740, Egbert, archbishop of York, forbade the Christians in his diocese to appear at Jewish festivals. The laws of Edward the Confessor declared the Jews and their goods royal property; no one could interfere with them except by permission of the king. These laws were confirmed by William the Conqueror, in the fourth year of his reign. His successor, William Rufus, treated them with indulgence. Probably in a fit of caprice, he appointed a disputation to be held in his presence at London, between their rabbins and some Christian divines; and impiously swore that he would adhere to the faith of that party which should prove victorious in the contest. The Christian writers affirm, that their champions completely silenced their opponents; but the Jews allege that unfair methods were employed to browbeat the rabbins, and prevent them from making the best of their cause. However, no benefit seems to have resulted from this conference, for all parties remained in the same position. Wil-

liam continued a Christian, but he did not withdraw his protection from the Jews. When he was afterwards at Rouen, the Jews complained to him of the conduct of the monks, who had forcibly baptized some of their brethren. They requested that he would take measures to cause them to return to the faith of their fathers. They accompanied their petition by the offer of a large sum of money. Rufus not only listened favorably to their prayer, but promised to endeavor to win back the new converts. We are, however, told only of a single effort which he made in person, and that was unsuccessful. One Stephen had given him a considerable sum for the restoration of his son to the Jewish faith; but the young man, when summoned into the royal presence, steadily maintained the religion, which, it would appear, had in his case been embraced with sincere conviction of its truth. The king pressed him hard, and even threatened him with the loss of his eyes if he continued obstinate. Undaunted by this menace, he replied that it was most unbecoming in a sovereign, who professed Christianity, to attempt to seduce any of his subjects into a faith, which he must needs believe to be erroneous. William was struck with the boldness of the youth, and desisted from his attempt. Stephen now demanded back his money; but the king kept the half of it, as a compensation for the fruitless trouble which he had taken. Rufus also made the Jews farmers of the revenues of the vacant bishoprics,—a measure which gave deep offence to his clergy and people, who looked upon it as an act of sacrilegious impiety. In his reign also the Israelites were established in Oxford and London. In the former city they had three halls for the accommodation of students of their religion, and are



said to have taught Hebrew to Christians as well as Jewish scholars. Yet for a long time they were not allowed to have a burial-ground there; their only cemetery was in St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the metropolis.

We hear nothing further of the Jews till the reign of Stephen, when in 1135 they were accused of having crucified a young man at Norwich. No persecution, however, is recorded to have followed this oft-repeated charge. Henry II. granted them permission to have cemeteries in all the principal towns, in order to remedy the great inconvenience which resulted from their previously possessing only one burial-place in the kingdom, that in London. But the enactments of that sovereign were not always favorable to them. At one period of his reign he gave them liberty to remain in his dominions, upon paying the sum of 5000 marks. When he was making preparations for a crusade, the Jews were assessed at £60,000; while the whole body of his Christian subjects were required to pay no more than £70,000. This tax was not levied, on account of the death of the king, which frustrated the expedition.

In the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, the Jews were subjected to a far more terrible persecution. Those of London had amassed great wealth, so that, although, to avoid popular odium, their houses had a very plain exterior, within they were furnished with all the comforts and luxuries which the age could supply. It was the report of this wealth, which in a great measure exasperated the people against them, and proved a means of their ruin. The coronation of King Richard was celebrated with great magnificence. The Jews had intended to be present at it, and to testify their loyalty by the splendor of

their gifts to the sovereign. But they were forbidden to approach Westminster Abbey on that joyful day, chiefly it is said through the hostility of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who alleged that they might practise magical arts against the life of the king. The Jews resident on the spot obeyed, but some of their brethren from the country were resolved not to lose their trouble and expense in coming to see the spectacle; and accordingly ventured into the church, trusting that their being strangers would secure them from detection. They were mistaken. The officers in attendance discovered them, beat them soundly with their staves, and dragged them from the abbey, half-dead with pain and terror. The news spread through the city; and the mob, ever ready to commit outrages upon the detested Israelites, furiously forced their way into their houses, and plundered them of the great wealth which they contained. The king was indignant at this outbreak of popular turbulence, and ordered an investigation into the circumstances. Several of the ringleaders were apprehended, and three were executed; but such was the excited state of public feeling, that they were condemned, not for their violent assault upon the unoffending Jews, but for the injuries inflicted during the confusion of the riot upon Christians. Two of them had robbed a Christian, pretending that he was an Israelite; the third had set fire to the house of a Jew, and the flames had reached to the next house, which belonged to a Christian. Such was the fanaticism of the times, that a contemporary monkish historian, writing in his cloister, far removed from any active part in the riot, coolly and impiously returns thanks to God for having delivered the unbelievers into the hands of their faithful plunderers!

When these were the sentiments deliberately professed in the seats of learning, we need not wonder that throughout the kingdom there was a general persecution of the wretched Hebrews. Preparations were making for that crusade, which Richard afterwards conducted to the Holy Land. To the hatred of the Jews, which always existed in the hearts of the people, was thus added the fury of military fanaticism. Before making war upon the Saracens, the intending crusaders took an opportunity of testifying their zeal, such as it was, against the unbelieving Israelites in their own country. At Norwich, Stamford, and St. Edmondsbury, the Jews were plundered and massacred. But the most dreadful catastrophe of this fanatical time occurred at York. There was a rich Israelite of that place, whose name was Benedict. To save his life in the tumult at London, he submitted to baptism, but was afterwards permitted by the king to return to Judaism. He died shortly after, from the effects of the ill treatment which he had received. The news of his apostasy reached his native city. The populace rushed to his house, plundered and burnt it; and murdered his wife and children, with some other persons who had taken refuge there from their fury. The rest of the Jews, anticipating the same fate for themselves, took possession of the castle, whither they conveyed their most valuable effects. The governor happened to be at the time in the city; on his return, he found the gates closed against him; and the Jews, rendered desperate by their circumstances, resolutely determined to stand a siege. Indignant at being thus excluded from his own fortress, he applied to the sheriff of the county for assistance to enable him to recover it. He lent him a body of troops, but afterwards

repented of his rashness, when he saw the fury of the populace, and heard their savage threats of indiscriminate massacre. He endeavored to recall the troops, but in vain. The clergy stirred up the besiegers to the most vigorous assaults, crying out, "Destroy the enemies of Christ."

One canon regular, of the Premonstratensian order, peculiarly distinguished himself by his exhortations, until he was struck dead by a huge stone thrown from the ramparts. At last the besieged found that they could no longer maintain their defence, and called a council to deliberate upon the course they ought to follow. They knew that they could expect no mercy from their assailants, who, previously but too well disposed to treat them with the utmost cruelty, were now exasperated to the utmost pitch of fury, by the length and obstinacy of the defence which had been made. The miserable Jews, therefore, listened the more willingly to the advice of their rabbi, a foreigner, and deeply versed in the law; who, in a most pathetic speech, counselled them to put an end to their lives, rather than tamely surrender the castle, and submit to the insults and tortures, which the ferocious multitude without were ready to inflict upon them. They buried their gold and silver, burned their other effects, slew their wives and children, and then fell by their own hands. When the besiegers next morning renewed the assault, they beheld the castle in flames; and saw a few wretched creatures who had refused to join their brethren in their suicide, running to and fro upon the battlements, trembling lest they should perish in the conflagration which their more daring brethren had occasioned. In the agony of their terror, they offered instantly to open the gates, and to submit to

baptism. The terms were accepted, and the multitude rushed in, but shamelessly violated the compact which they had just made, putting every one whom they found alive to the sword. They then rushed to the cathedral, and demanded all the Jewish bonds and contracts, which had been stored up there among the archives; and these they immediately threw into a large fire. Upon the death of the rightful owners, these debts would have fallen to the crown, and have proved a rich source of revenue. It may have been from indignation at the loss of this prize, that Richard ordered a strict investigation into the massacre at York. The governor and sheriff were deprived of their offices, but the ringleaders of the riot escaped to Scotland; and it does not appear that any persons suffered the just penalty of the law for an atrocious tumult, in which, according to the lowest computation, 500 of the proscribed nation perished.

When King Richard returned from his captivity, he made several laws with respect to the Jews, and formally recognized them as belonging to the crown. In order to prevent any fraud on their part, he ordered that all bonds and obligations should be drawn up in the presence of two Jewish and two Christian lawyers, two public notaries, and two inspectors commissioned by the crown; every deed was to be enrolled, and a fee was to be paid to the royal treasury for every such enrolment. Two copies of every bond were to be made, one of which was to remain in the possession of the Jewish creditor, the other was to be deposited among the archives of the town where the deed was drawn up, in a chest secured by three padlocks, of one of which the key should be given

to the Jewish lawyers. No deed was to be valid unless it were drawn up with all these formalities.

Richard's successor, the weak and unprincipled John, at first showed himself very favorable to the Jews. He encouraged them to settle in his dominions, by granting them a number of privileges, which they had not previously enjoyed. They were allowed to settle where they pleased, to hold lands and fees, and take mortgages. In disputes with Christians, they were to be tried by their own peers; their oaths were held to be of equal weight with those of Christians. They might freely buy and sell everything, with the exception of the sacred vessels and other furniture belonging to the church. All the subjects of the realm were required to protect them and their effects as the chattels of the king. For the charter which contained these and other favorable articles, they paid 4000 marks. Another statute permitted them to have their suits determined by their own law. But the fickle tyrant did not long continue the protector of the unfortunate Israelites. It would almost appear as if he had granted them privileges for the diabolical purpose of inveigling them into his power, that he might plunder and oppress them at pleasure. In the year 1210, he caused all the Jews in his dominions to be seized, and confiscated their wealth to the exchequer. If they would not give up their money, it was wrung from their reluctant grasp by the most cruel torments. A Jew of Bristol, known to possess very great riches, was seized and carried off to one of the royal castles. He was then told that the king required 10,000 marks from him; he refused to comply with the demand, and was next informed, that in addition to the loss of liberty, he would be daily

deprived of a tooth, till he chose to assent to the royal will. For a week he continued obstinate, but when about to lose his eighth tooth he yielded, and obtained his liberation by paying the sum required. Nor were the Jews in this calamitous reign exposed only to the capricious tyranny of the sovereign; when the barons took up arms against his oppression, the Jews were plundered by them as a part of the royal chattels. Their treasures in London were seized, and their dwellings pulled down, in order that the materials might be employed in the repair of the walls, when the city was threatened with a siege by the exasperated king.

Upon the accession of Henry III., the Jews were released from prison, and restored to some of their former privileges; but were required to wear two stripes of white cloth or parchment, as a distinctive mark upon their dress. During his long reign, however, they were subjected to much annoyance and persecution, both from king and people. In the year 1233, Henry established in London a sort of almshouse for the reception of converted Jews; who lived there without being required to follow any trade, being supported by funds set apart from the royal treasury. A considerable number, it is said, were induced to abjure their religion, tempted by the prospect of maintenance without personal exertion. This "house of conversion," as it was called, was founded by the king, as a means of delivering his father's soul from the flames of purgatory. But if, on this occasion, he expended a considerable sum upon the comforts of these Jewish converts, or rather renegades, he took good care amply to indemnify himself by the exorbitant taxes which he levied upon their brethren. From his improvidence

and prodigality, he was frequently in need of money, and he could far more easily extort the sums which he required from his Jewish than his Christian subjects. Accordingly, at one time he obliged the former to pay a third of their wealth into the treasury; two years after, a second demand was made of 18,000 marks, and, at the expiration of four years more, 10,000 marks were wrested from the oppressed Hebrews. Very large sums were extorted from rich individuals. Thus the daughter of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king 5000 marks, on condition of being exempted from taxes. Aaron, a wealthy Jew of York, made a similar composition of 100 marks a year. Yet this stipulation does not seem to have protected him from extraordinary exactions; for he solemnly declared that the king had wrung from him in seven years, no less than 30,000 marks of silver, besides 200 marks of gold which he paid to the queen. Some time after, the curious spectacle was presented to the English people of a Jewish parliament, summoned in due form. The sheriffs were ordered to return six of the richest Jews from the larger towns, and two from the smaller ones. The parliament thus constituted, was informed on its assembling, that the king was greatly in want of money, and required 20,000 marks immediately to meet the demands on his exchequer. This gracious intimation having been made, the assembly was dissolved, and its members sent home to collect the requisite sum with the utmost expedition. It appears that it was not levied soon enough to please the needy and impatient monarch, for he ordered the collectors to be seized, along with their wives and children, and thrown into prison; their goods and chattels were forfeited to the crown.



So many demands were made upon the Jews by Henry, that it seems wonderful they should have ever had it in their power to accumulate riches. But the apparent mystery is explained by the exorbitant rate of interest which they exacted from their debtors. At this time fifty per cent. was considered by no means an immoderate charge; and we are told that some Oxford students deemed themselves leniently dealt with, by being required to pay only twopence weekly on a debt of twenty shillings. This moderate rate amounted only to forty-three one-third per cent. per annum! But in this reign the Jews found very formidable rivals in the practice of usury. These were the Caorsini or Cahursins, a class of men who made themselves so odious by their exactions, that Dante, in his *Inferno*, has ranked them in wickedness along with the inhabitants of Sodom. The place from which they received their name, has been generally supposed to be Cahors in France; of which Benvenuto d'Imola, an Italian commentator on Dante, remarks, that almost all its citizens devoted themselves to usury. But French writers, conceiving that the honor of their country was at stake, have indignantly disclaimed the Caorsini, as aliens from their soil; and have pointed to the enactments of the thirteenth century, which distinctly declare them to have been foreigners. Depping supposes that they were originally from Piedmont, which is known to have been at that period remarkable for the number of bankers, whom it sent forth into Dauphiny, Switzerland, and other neighboring districts, and thinks that their name was derived from the town of Caorsa or Cavonis in that country. Be this as it may, it is certain that the English Jews in the reign of Henry III. bitterly

complained of the rivalry of these Caorsini ; and alleged the poverty thus occasioned as a sufficient reason for exempting them from the enormous contributions to the king's service, which they were continually called upon to make.

After thus upon numerous occasions extorting large sums from his Israelitish subjects, the king delegated his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, to make a fresh demand. Through their chief rabbin, Elias, they made the most piteous representations of their poverty ; and the earl, more merciful than his royal brother, accepted a much smaller sum than he at first intended to exact. In the midst of these oppressions, a report was spread, that the Jews of Lincoln had crucified a Christian child, called Hugh, because he had sung hymns in their quarter in honor of the Virgin. The body of the child was found in a ditch, whither it had been thrown after the crucifixion. It was conveyed to the cathedral, and buried there with great pomp. Nor was this all ; the unfortunate child was canonized, and pilgrims came from all parts of the kingdom to pay their devotions at the shrine of the youthful martyr, for such, on account of his reverence for the Virgin, he was deemed. It had been well for the sake of humanity, if even this mummery, despicable and profane as it was, had been all. But the zealotry of the times was not so easily satisfied. A number of Jews were seized, and, after a mockery of a trial, put to death for a crime, of which partial and prejudiced judges would readily deem them guilty.

The oppression of the king did not secure the Jews from molestation by the barons, when they raised the standard of rebellion against their sovereign. They were

accused of having sided with Henry, and thus proved themselves hostile to the liberties of England. Men, whose chief object was the peaceful accumulation of wealth, were not very likely to interest themselves about the disputes between the king and his nobles; but the report was believed, and made the ground of spoliation after the battle of Lewes, in which Henry and his son were made prisoners by the insurgents. These sufferings for his sake did not render the sovereign, after his liberation, more favorable to them, for one of the last acts of his reign was to disqualify them from possessing any tenements, except those which they inhabited at the time; if these became ruinous or inconvenient, they might pull them down, and build others on the old foundations. They were despoiled of all lands and manors, and such as they held by mortgage were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on the bonds. Henry likewise ordered the arrears of all charges to be instantly paid, and threatened the defaulters with imprisonment. We are informed, that such was the distress occasioned by this peremptory edict, that even the rival usurers the Caorsini, and the clergy, pitied the unhappy Israelites.

During the reign of Henry the Third, much odium had been excited against the Jews by accusations, probably not ill founded, of their clipping and adulterating the coin of the realm. They seem to have continued this odious and dangerous practice under Edward the First, for in one year no fewer than 280 were executed in London for this offence. Edward did not treat them more mercifully than his father had done. One of his first acts was to impose upon them a poll-tax, which ex-

tended to the women and children. Those who could not or would not pay the sum required were to leave the kingdom, and whatever property they possessed was escheated to the king. Shortly after, an act of parliament forbade all usury, and thus excluded the Jews from their chief means of acquiring wealth. Even all previous debts to them were to be cancelled, upon the payment of the principal, and no interest allowed to be received. They were permitted to have recourse to other employments, such as merchandise, farming, and manual labor; but the profits of these occupations would be but a poor compensation for the enormous gains, which they had been accustomed to make by usury. Yet even these branches of industry they were not long permitted to pursue in peace; for, in the year 1290, the king issued orders that they should all depart from the realm. They were allowed sufficient money to carry them into other countries, but all the rest of their effects was declared forfeited to the crown. They were to be kindly treated until they quitted the shores of England; but this injunction of the king was not obeyed, and they were subjected to much insult and injury from the populace, always glad to vent their hatred upon them. The number of exiles is variously estimated from 15,000 to 16,500. The libraries belonging to the synagogues, which were very rich in Hebrew manuscripts, were appropriated by the convents. The most celebrated were those of Stamford and Oxford; the latter of which is stated to have afforded much information to the famous Roger Bacon; but this seems to be doubtful, for he died at a very advanced age, shortly after the expulsion of the Israelites. The edict of Edward the First continued in force during near-

ly four centuries; and throughout this period if any Jews visited England, or resided in it, they did so secretly, and at the hazard of their lives.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Jews in Naples—They are generally protected by the Popes—Council of Constance—Oppression of the Jews in the North of Italy—Establishment of *Monte di Pietà*—Preachings of Bernardino Thomitano—The Jews favored at Florence—Jews of Leghorn—Adventures of Abarbanel—The Jews expelled from Naples—David and Solomon Molchu—Jews of Ferrara—The Venetian Government protects and favors the Jews—Jews at Genoa and Caffa. (A. D. 1500 to the Eighteenth Century.)

WE may now revert to the condition of the Jews in Italy. The great number of states into which that country was divided, during the middle ages, prevented any general measures of persecution from being adopted against them; if, through caprice or bigotry, they were oppressed in one district, they might easily retire to another, where they would be out of the reach of cruelty and injustice. One of the few cases in Italian history of their suffering from popular violence, occurred in the thirteenth century at Naples. In that kingdom they had a great number of synagogues, and many learned rabbins; they had great influence at court on account of the advances of money which they had made at different times; but although protected by the government and the nobility, they were objects of especial hatred to the populace, probably on account of their extortions. Taking advantage of the death of the king, the mob rose against them, massacred several, and compelled the rest

to save themselves by adopting the outward profession of Christianity. We are told by Samuel Usque, a rabbinical author, that a king of Naples, having exhausted his treasures in war, was relieved in his hour of distress by the wealth of his Jewish subjects. On his death-bed, he charged his son and successor to pay his debt to the Israelites; but the young prince was persuaded that the most excellent as well as most convenient method of obeying his father's injunctions, was to save their souls by obliging them to submit to baptism. The advice of the priestly counsellors was given in perfect accordance with the spirit of popery, which seeks, with all the proselytizing zeal of the Pharisees of old, for outward conformity to its ritual; but has ever shown itself in its so-called *conversions* of Jews at home and Heathens abroad, little solicitous about a genuine change of the heart, and a sober conviction of the understanding.

In the states of the church, the condition of the Jews depended upon the personal character of the pontiffs. Occasionally persecuted by a bigoted pope, they were more frequently protected by the occupants of the Holy See, from motives of policy or humanity. In the year 1247, Innocent IV., in order to put an end to the continual accusations of the Jews, as murderers of Christian children, enacted, that every person who brought forward such a charge, without being able to support it by the evidence of three Israelites and as many Christians, should himself suffer the penalty of the law as a murderer. It would have been well for the peace of society in the middle ages, if similar laws had been made in every state. Shortly after, the monastic order of the Minorites, who everywhere displayed great zeal for the inter-

ests of Romanism, endeavored, as a preliminary step to their conversion, to prevent the Jews from practising the rites and ceremonies of their faith. The Israelites claimed the protection of the Holy See, which was then filled by Nicholas III., a pontiff who, on this occasion, evinced a spirit of wise toleration. He issued a bull, in which he enjoined all Christians to allow the Jews to enjoy in peace the privileges of which they were already possessed, forbade the molestation of them in any way, and denounced the penalty of ecclesiastical censure against all who should be found guilty of disobedience to his commands. However, Nicholas was by no means indifferent to the conversion of the Israelites, for, in the same year, he allowed the provincial prior of the preachers of Lombardy to assemble the professors of Judaism whenever he judged proper, to address exhortations and discourses to them, and endeavor by every fair means to win them over to the Christian faith. Well meant as this enactment was, it could not fail to give rise to much annoyance of the Jews; and to a certain extent it nullified the effects of the previous judicious edict, which the pontiff had issued against the intolerant proceedings of the Minorite friars. In the year 1363, Urban V., in similar circumstances, published a bull almost identical in terms with that of Nicholas III., forbidding the forcible conversion and molestation of the Jews.

The learning which many of the Italian rabbins possessed, rendered it necessary for the defenders of Christianity to acquire the Hebrew language, in order to be able to dispute advantageously with them. Pope Clement V., therefore, in 1320, ordered the institution of Hebrew professorships in the universities of Europe. A

less honorable method of combating Judaism was devised by John XXII., who issued a bull, commanding all copies of the Talmud to be burnt; but this edict appears to have been very ill obeyed. At least rabbinical learning continued to flourish, especially at Bologna, where there was an academy which produced many distinguished men. Some copies of the sacred writings, transcribed by the rabbins of this school, are still preserved at Bologna. In that city, a rich Jewish family, called Hananiam (which pretended to trace up its genealogy to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus), founded a magnificent synagogue at the end of the fourteenth century. About the same period, the Jews of that place presented to the Dominican inquisitor Emeric, a Bible, which they pretended to have been written by the hand of Ezra.

The council of Constance assembled in the beginning of the fifteenth century. As previous ecclesiastical synods had shown themselves hostile to the Israelites, and as this assembly had evinced its bigotry and cruelty by the murder of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the Jews of Constance, trembling for their own safety, endeavored to conciliate the pope, Martin V., by doing homage to him, and presenting him with a copy of their law. Historians differ as to the manner in which their obeisance was received. Some assert that the pontiff disdainfully rejected their present, saying, "Though you possess the law, you will not understand it aright." According to others, it was the emperor who taunted them with the words, "You have good institutions indeed, but you do not observe them." Had the Jews dared, they might justly have reminded him, that he had no scruples in violating the law of God and man, by com-



mitting Huss to the flames, after granting him a safe conduct. The Jews were more fortunate than the two Protestant martyrs, whose condemnation has stamped infamy upon the proceedings of the Council of Constance. All that was done against them was to include them in the bull of excommunication, which was issued against infidels, heretics and schismatics. The council also mitigated the oppression of the converted Jews, who, on embracing Christianity, were spoiled of their goods to indemnify the church for the loss it would sustain by being deprived of the taxes which they had previously paid; or, as the clergy of the times pretended, to induce them to give up the practice of usury, by taking away the riches acquired in that unlawful trade. Cardinal Dailly wished this absurd and oppressive custom altogether abolished; but the fathers of Constance would only agree to enact, that in future the converts should be required to part with no more than half of their goods, alleging that their regard for the revenues of the church would not permit them to go further.

Pope Eugenius IV., in 1442, issued a severe edict against the Jews. He forbade them to practise usury, to exercise any public employment, or to eat and drink with Christians. He subjected them to the payment of tithes for all kinds of articles, and enjoined them to build no new synagogues, and not even to enlarge or ornament the old ones. Christians were prohibited from leaving them any legacies in their wills. About thirty years later, the Jews of Trent were exposed to persecution from the popular fanaticism. Three Israelites were said to have murdered an infant, in the same manner as they were commonly reported to commit such crimes. Had there

been any attention paid to justice in this matter, only the three culprits ought to have been seized; and, if found guilty, condemned. But this process was too slow and regular to satisfy an infuriated mob. All the Jews in the city were apprehended and thrown into prison, from which they were only taken to be subjected to death or torture. In the following year a similar charge was brought against the Milanese Jews, and they also were imprisoned; but the Duke of Milan did not gratify the malice of his subjects by putting them to death or torture, contenting himself with making them pay a sum of 20,000 pieces of gold as the price of their liberty.

There were other adversaries of the Jews who did not aim at their lives, but endeavored to put a stop in some measure to their exorbitant gains. These were the founders of the *Monte di Pieta*, Mounts of Piety. A Franciscan monk, named Barnabas (and surnamed Interamnensis, because he was a native of Terni, the ancient Interamna), was incited by the general complaints of the exorbitant usury exacted by the Jews, to contrive an institution, which might, to some extent at least, alleviate the inconvenience of that oppressive rate. While preaching at Perugia, before Pope Pius II., he first proposed the establishment of a bank, from which small sums should be supplied to the poor, on the deposit of pledges, and at a very low rate of interest, barely sufficient to defray the necessary expenses of the institution. Accordingly this bank was immediately organized, and afterwards received the sanction of the pope; it was denominated *monte di pieta*, because it was considered an act of piety to save poor Christians from the fraud and oppression of the enemies of the Gospel. A few years af-

terwards, the city of Mantua followed the example of Perugia, and established a similar institution ; which was to be under the management of twelve directors, of whom four were to be clergymen, two nobles, two lawyers or physicians, two merchants, and two citizens of other professions. The ecclesiastics were members for life, the laymen were elected for two years, and half of them went out annually. We are not so particularly informed of the composition of the boards of management in other cities and towns ; but it seems probable, that the example of Mantua was so far followed, as to give the clergy a considerable influence in the direction of these institutions, which soon became very numerous throughout Italy.

However this might be, it is certain that the regular clergy were most active in establishing the *monte di pietà*. The most distinguished and successful of them was Bernardino Thomitano, a native of Feltre, a very eloquent Franciscan monk ; who travelled through Italy, preaching against usury, and actively promoting the institution of banks for the accommodation of the poor. If he had confined his efforts to this object alone, he might have been regarded as a useful member of society ; but he appears to have been actuated by the most bigoted hatred of the Jews, and his harangues often excited the populace against them. Thus, at Florence, the magistrates were obliged to order him to leave the city, on account of the danger to which the Israelite inhabitants had been exposed by his inflammatory discourses. A monkish writer, in recording this occurrence, states that the Florentine magistracy had been bribed by the Jews, so impossible did it appear to him, that they could have been influenced by motives of humanity or policy in the order

which they had given ! At Sienna, a Jewish physician had been long resident, and his reputation was so well established, that he received a salary from the magistrates for the care he took of the public health. When Bernardino arrived, he made every effort to irritate the inhabitants against this inoffensive and useful man ; he raked together every falsehood which malice could invent, or credulity could believe ; and among other stories, he related that a Jewish physician of Avignon, while on his death-bed, had boasted with the utmost satisfaction of having poisoned some thousands of Christians ! Such tales were not without their effect, and the most revolting cases of fanaticism were the result of the Franciscan's harangues. A nobleman had a son dangerously ill, and wished to have recourse to the skill of the Jewish physician ; but his wife strenuously opposed his desire, declaring that it was better that their offspring should die, than owe his recovery to the drugs of an unbeliever !

At Lucca, the zealous Franciscan experienced great opposition, but his perseverance enabled him to surmount every obstacle. When he began to inveigh against those who took the Jews under their protection, the Luccese reminded him of the bulls of the popes, which were favorable to that people. Bernardino was not disconcerted by this apparently weighty argument ; he boldly asserted that the bull of Nicholas III., which appears to have been especially brought forward by his adversaries, had been obtained from him by fraud, and signed without his being aware of the contents. He then quoted various decrees of the popes, which were very unfavorable to the Hebrews. The Luccese next brought a distinguished theologian from Florence, to refute the argu-

ments of the Franciscan. The Florentine divine was probably not very zealous in the cause which he undertook to defend, or at least did not support it to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, who founded a bank for the poor at the public expense. A wealthy capitalist, who had been formerly associated with the Jews, and had vigorously opposed the establishment of the *monte di pietà*, contributed 40,000 pieces of gold to its funds, when he saw that it had, in spite of his opposition, been put into active operation.

Bernardino seldom met with such determined opposition as at Lucca; in most of the Italian cities and towns the exactions of the Jews had prepared the minds of the inhabitants to give a favorable reception to his exertions. Thus, at Placentia, where the people were subjected to the enormous rate of cent. per cent., we may readily imagine that the institution of a *monte di pietà* was a matter of no great difficulty. Rome and Naples were among the last cities which adopted these charitable establishments, as they did not possess them till towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The Dominicans, always jealous of their rivals the Franciscans, inveighed against the banks for the poor, calling them *monti di impietà*; and the pope was obliged to interfere and give his express sanction to the establishments in question, declaring them useful and pious, and menacing with excommunication all who should oppose them. Similar banks for the accommodation of the poor were organized in Germany; and, in order to give free scope to them, the Jews were sometimes either banished, or forbidden to practise usury. Yet in many places these *monte di pietà*, although established at first with great zeal,

appear to have fallen speedily to decay, and disappeared altogether.

Florence had risen to the first rank among the cities of Italy, and its elevation is ascribed, by the historian Muratori, in a great measure to its practice of usury on a large scale. The Christian usurers of Florence gave protection to their Jewish brethren, who long flourished there in peace and security. The Jews were occasionally chosen to fill situations of trust and honor; for in 1414 an Israelite banker was sent as ambassador to Visconti, duke of Milan. That haughty prince refused to give audience to the Israelite, and ordered him to transact his business with his secretary. The republic felt itself affronted by this insult offered to its envoy, and immediately declared war against Visconti.

A state, which had shown such kindness and consideration to its Jewish subjects, might be expected to receive with humanity their brethren, who were exiled from other countries. And so in fact it proved. When the Medici founded Leghorn, whose well-chosen situation marked it out as a place fitted to become an emporium of commerce, they assigned a quarter in it to the Jews who had fled from Spain and Portugal. They established themselves so firmly there, that they have continued ever since in a state of prosperity. They were permitted by the Florentine government to elect a senate of their own, who should possess the power of regulating all their affairs. They still retain a mark of their origin, by preserving the Spanish language in their liturgy, and they celebrate their religious festivals with great pomp. Their wealth enables them to maintain a synagogue, several schools and a hospital. Their merchants have

often acquired considerable fortunes in their commercial speculations, especially with Africa; and though they are obliged to reside in the *ghetto* or Jews' quarter, they possess a great part of the city and the lands in its vicinity. Leghorn is now one of the most flourishing settlements of the Jews in Europe; and they still retain there that prosperity, which under the Medici made it a proverb, that a man might as safely strike the Grand Duke as an Israelite.

In the kingdom of Naples the Jews were not treated with the same favor as at Florence and its dependencies; they were occasionally subjected to arbitrary exactions by the sovereign. Thus, about the year 1428, the Minorites accused the Israelites of having influenced the sultan of Egypt to take away their chapel at Jerusalem, in order to convert it into a synagogue. The accusation was probably false, but, at all events, the monks succeeded, by lavishing presents in the proper quarter, in recovering their chapel; for both Pope Martin V. and Queen Joanna II. of Naples imposed considerable fines upon the Jews in their dominions, for the purpose, as they alleged, of reimbursing the friars for the expenses which they had incurred. About eight and twenty years afterwards, the Neapolitan Israelites were subjected to a new tribute for a different purpose. It would appear that their rightful sovereign had, for some reason or other, temporarily relinquished his rights over them; for this tax was levied by the commissioner of Pope Calixtus III. with the design of being applied to defray the expenses of a war with the Turks, who had lately struck terror into all Europe by the taking of Constantinople. The papal collector was directed to levy from the Jews in the two



Sicilies the tithe of all their goods, moveable and immoveable, and to make them give up all the proceeds of their usurious dealings ; he was empowered to make use if necessary of both the ecclesiastical and secular arms. It would appear that this power of the Roman pontiff over the Neapolitan Jews ceased with the occasion, for we hear no more of any exertions of his authority.

The most distinguished of the Jews who had been banished from Spain was Abarbanel, a native of Portugal ; who, after having enjoyed the confidence of Alfonso V., king of that country, had been obliged by the jealousy of his successor, to repair to the court of Ferdinand of Arragon, where for a time he was well received. His endeavors to induce Ferdinand to recall his fatal edict of expulsion proved unsuccessful ; and, with his brethren, he was constrained to seek a refuge in some foreign land. He sailed to Naples, where King Ferdinand the First treated him with great kindness, and he displayed the financial talents, of which he had already given proof in Portugal and Spain. He retained his influence at the Neapolitan court, after the death of Ferdinand, and the accession of Alfonso II. whom he accompanied to Sicily when the French overran the Italian dominions of his protector. The Jews who remained in Naples, from fear of losing their liberty and property, conformed outwardly to Christianity ; but, whenever the storm blew over, they returned to Judaism. When Gonsalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, conquered Naples for the king of Spain, he wished to introduce the Inquisition, which had already proved an engine of such mischief in Arragon and Castile. Some years elapsed before the Spanish government was in a state to give effect to



his recommendation; but in 1510, it was resolved to introduce the execrable tribunal in question. But both Christians and Jews united in opposition to it, and the project was abandoned, through fear of a general insurrection, if it was persisted in. The government promised to its Christian subjects that it would not introduce the Inquisition; but avenged itself on the Israelites for thwarting its design, by ordering them all to leave the kingdom.

Abarbanel had already left the country, on the death of his royal protector Alfonso II., and had retired to Venice, where he was received with great favor by the government, and was even employed to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Portugal. He died at Venice in peace, having experienced many vicissitudes of fortune, and having thrice been exiled, twice by necessity, and once by choice. Occupied as he had been by political and commercial affairs, he had yet found time to compose several commentaries upon different parts of the Bible, which are much esteemed by his Jewish brethren. He believed that after the resurrection the just will lead a new life upon the earth, without passions, without difference of creed, and without any form of civil government. Universal peace will then prevail, and God himself will be the ruler of a people who will be perfectly submissive to his sway.

Although Abarbanel himself had left Naples, his commercial establishment was still maintained there; and its affairs were directed by his son Samuel, a man at once rich, learned, and munificent, who spent a large portion of his wealth in acts of charity. It may have been in consequence of the popularity which his bene-

ficence had procured for him, that he was allowed to remain in safety at Naples, while the edict of banishment was rigidly enforced against the other Israelites. He fondly cherished the hope of seeing them once more return to a land, where in former days they had enjoyed peace and prosperity; and his wife Ben-Venida exerted herself so successfully with the ladies of the court, in favor of her countrymen, that they petitioned the emperor, Charles the Fifth, to recall the exiles. Charles was at first disposed to listen to their request, and several Jews took advantage of his favorable sentiments, which were understood, though not declared, and stole back into the kingdom. At the end of a few years, however, the emperor, influenced by bigoted counsellors, issued orders to all the Israelites in his Italian dominions to repair without delay to other countries. They obeyed, and retired into Turkey, the States of the Church, and other European dominions, which were yet open to them.

Not long after, a Jew named David, a man of considerable eloquence, came into Europe from Asia. He was animated with a burning zeal for Judaism, and sought to gain proselytes to it in various countries. Among others he converted Solomon Molchu, secretary of the Portuguese king, who was privately circumcised, and became a very able defender of the faith which he had espoused. He was selected by David as his coadjutor in his missionary operations, and in conjunction they visited various kingdoms of Europe, and even ventured into the courts of Francis I. and Charles V. This rashness cost them dear. The emperor caused them to be apprehended. Molchu was condemned to be burned alive; and, in order to prevent his making any impression

by his eloquence upon the crowd assembled to witness his execution, his mouth was gagged as he was conducted to the stake. His death took place at Mantua, 1533. His companion David was spared for the present, but was kept in prison until Charles left Italy for Spain, when he was taken along with him, and made one of the victims of an *auto da fe*.

The Duke of Ferrara had, in 1496, received the Jewish exiles from Portugal with favor, and had merely required them to wear a little yellow circle upon their breasts, as a mark of distinction from Christians. For upwards of half a century they continued to dwell in safety and peace; but, in 1551, the plague broke out in Ferrara, and the people loudly accused the Jews of having introduced it. In order to prevent the worse consequences which might have arisen from the popular fanaticism, the duke was obliged to order the unhappy Israelites to quit his dominions. Enfeebled by the disease, they could scarcely drag themselves to the vessels, which were appointed to convey them to other countries. Some of them fell into the hands of pirates; others, after having been repulsed from all the ports of the Adriatic, found a hospitable reception from the Jews of Pesaro.

The wise government of Venice had long extended its protection to the Israelites, whose usefulness it well discerned. Its intention in tolerating and favoring them, as announced in several of its edicts, was to furnish its subjects with the means of always obtaining ready money for interest. Thus it was as bankers and capitalists that the Jews were permitted and encouraged to settle. The Venetian government, however, kept a strict watch over their proceedings, and made various regulations, to pre-

vent their taking undue advantage of its protection. They were, in 1385, obliged to confine themselves to a certain part of the city, which has ever since continued to be inhabited by them; and, like similar quarters in other Italian cities, is called the *ghetto*. They were also forbidden to oppress the poor, as they had previously done, by refusing to lend except upon the most valuable pledges, and by exacting the most exorbitant rate of interest. Venice showed the same favor towards the Israelites, in the various districts, which, from time to time, in different ways, became subject to her sway. The inhabitants of Ravenna, in 1484, were stirred up by the vehement harangues of Bernardino of Feltre, to drive the Jewish usurers out of their city; and sent deputies to Venice requesting the senate to pronounce an edict of banishment against the hated race of Israel. The Venetian magistracy, after having calmly heard both parties, enjoined the Jews to practise usury no more, as a *monte di pieta* had been established at Ravenna; and shut up their synagogue, which occupied an eminent position, and had thereby attracted too much the attention of the fanatical multitude. At Verona and other places, the Venetian authorities protected the Jews from the dangers to which they were exposed by the discourses of Bernardino.

At Genoa it would appear that the Israelites had been long established. The Genoese, previous to the subjugation of the Greek empire by the Turks, possessed the port of Caffa, which became the emporium of their commerce in the Black Sea. Here the Jews settled, and employed themselves in the traffic in slaves. They purchased young boys and girls from the Russians,

Tartars and Circassians, and sold them to the Saracens and Turks. They sometimes made such profitable bargains as to clear a thousand per cent. Intelligence of this traffic was conveyed to the court of Rome, probably by the Dominicans resident at Caffa. Martin V. then occupied the papal throne, and immediately took steps to put an end to a trade which struck him with horror. He first ordered that all the Jews of Caffa should wear a distinctive mark upon their dress. Having thus insured their detection, he next enjoined the bishop of the city, and the heads of the Gencese settled there, to seize the goods of the Jews who had been engaged in the traffic in slaves, and employ them in the redemption of the unhappy victims of their avarice. If any of the slave-merchants refused to surrender their ill-gotten gains, they were to be expelled from the colony. It had been well for the papal see, if its edicts had always been directed to as praiseworthy purposes as this bull of Martin V.!

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## CHAPTER X.

Italian Rabbins—Leo the Hebrew—His “Dialogues of Love”—Jewish Printing-presses in Italy—The Soncinati—Gerson de Soncino, a renowned Printer—Learned Men—Gedaliah ben Joseph Jachia—Solomon Usque—His “Consolation of Israel”—Leo of Modena—The Jews persecuted by various Popes—Wise Policy of Sixtus V.—German Jews—Jews in Russia—Influence of the Reformation on the State of the Jews—They enjoy great Prosperity in Poland—They are protected by the United Provinces—Jews at Constantinople. (A. D. 1530–1647.)

WE have seen that the Hebrew exiles from Spain and Portugal were kindly received in various Italian

states. Among those refugees there were several distinguished rabbins, such as David ben Joseph ben Jachia, who was chosen governor and judge of the Jews at Naples; and Joseph ben Don-David, who was for twenty-two years the head of the synagogue at Imola. The former was celebrated as a grammarian, poet and philosopher; the latter was a commentator on some books of the Bible, and the author of several works on the Talmud. But the most famous of the exiles was a son of Abarbanel, named Judah, but better known by the appellation of Leo the Hebrew. On his expulsion from Spain, he retired to Genoa, where he practised medicine, and taught such philosophy as was received among the Jews in those days. This philosophy was a species of eclecticism, combining the opinions of Plato and Aristotle with the dogmas of Averroes, Avicenna, and the other Arabian sages, and the doctrines of the rabbins of the various schools. Leo has left us a curious specimen of his sentiments in his "Dialogues of Love;" a work in which there are two interlocutors introduced, by name Philo and Sophia, and the former instructs the latter in the loves of the angels, planets, elements, and other beings or things, generally supposed to be out of the reach of human affection. It has been remarked of this book, that the author seems to have accurately described the verdict of posterity on himself in the words which Philo addresses to his fair auditor:—"Your reasonings demonstrate the ingenuity of your fancy, rather than the solidity of your understanding." Yet the "Dialogues of Love" were popular in their day. They were originally written in Italian, and were several times printed at Rome and Venice; but they were soon after translated

into French by the *Sieur de Parc*, and published at Lyons, with a dedication to Catherine de Medicis.

But the Jewish inhabitants of Italy cultivated literature, as well as the exiles from Spain and Portugal; and gave sufficient evidence of their fondness for it, by the number of printing-presses, which they established in the end of the fifteenth century. They published books, not merely on religious subjects, but likewise connected with history, jurisprudence, and medicine; and, as they were printed with the greatest care from the best manuscripts, they are highly valued by book-collectors. The impressions, however, appear to have been generally small, so that copies of most of them have become exceedingly rare. It was in 1475 that the Jewish press in Italy sent forth its first work. This was the commentary of Solomon Jarchi on the Pentateuch, a small folio, printed by Abraham Garton, at Reggio in Calabria. The only copy of this book known to exist was in the possession of J. B. de Rossi, the author of a learned treatise on Hebrew typography. The next work printed was the *Arba-Turim*, or "Four Orders" of Jacob ben Ascer. This is a system of Hebrew law, and forms four volumes in this its first edition. Some verses at the end, according to the fashion of the times, announce the name of the printer to have been the rabbin Mesculam, surnamed Kosi; his press was at Plebisacio, or Piève-di-Sacco, a town of the Paduan territory. Printing-presses were speedily established at Bologna, Mantua, Ferrara, and various other cities; and were kept in active employment. But the most celebrated of them was that under the direction of the family of the Soncinati, who, originally from Germany, came to reside in Soncino, a



little town of the Milanese, at present in a state of great obscurity. The most distinguished of this family was Gerson, whose press was established at Soncino in 1484, and continued for six years to send forth a great number of works, principally on theological subjects. The first book which issued from it was a portion of the Talmud, viz., that relating to benedictions, with the commentaries of Jarchi, Maimonides, and other rabbins. The most important was a complete copy of the Old Testament, with points and accents, remarkable for the number of various readings it contains, which are stated by Kennicott to amount to several thousands.

While the press of Soncino was thus kept in active employment, that of Naples was beginning to distinguish itself also. Its first work was a Psalter, with the commentary of David Kinichi; which was so far from rivalling the correctness of the other Hebrew books, that the printer was obliged to excuse himself, by pleading that he had not been able to perfect his typographical arrangements. Various other portions of the Bible followed, with the commentaries of the most celebrated doctors. Amongst the rest, there appeared the first complete edition of Aben Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch, a book which has now become exceedingly rare; as De Rossi, after all his investigations, was only able to ascertain the existence of one other copy in Italy, besides that which he himself possessed. In addition to the theological works of the great Rabbins, the Neapolitan press sent forth various treatises on subjects of secular interest; as, for example, the *Makre Dardeke*, or *Teacher*, a rabbinical dictionary, in the three languages of Hebrew, Arabic, and Italian, a compilation of which the author



is unknown ; and a translation of a medical work of Avicenna, which proves that the Jews in the south of Italy did not neglect the study of the healing art, in which their ancestors had been so famous. One of the latest issues from the press of Naples, was an edition of the Mishna, which made its appearance in 1492. The expulsion of the Jews from the Two Sicilies of course put an end to their typographical operations in that part of Europe.

Meanwhile, Gerson de Soncino had left the town from which he derived his surname, and transferred his establishment to Brescia ; where he remained some years, and among other works, published the Old Testament, with points and accents. The readings of this edition differ remarkably from those of the other Hebrew Bibles printed in Italy. He afterwards travelled from place to place, carrying his press along with him ; and became so remarkable for the number of his removals, that in one of his books he styled himself Gerson the Wanderer. He established himself successively at Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Thessalonica, and Constantinople, where he still continued to print in 1533 ; but it appears that he died shortly afterwards, having achieved a long and successful typographical career of half a century. The most celebrated of his later works was a Hebrew Bible, in two folio volumes, printed at Pesaro in 1517, and so much esteemed, that a second edition was called for within a short time. Both impressions, however, have now become exceedingly rare.

Although there were various cities and towns in Italy which possessed Jewish printing-presses, the only one which was regarded as worthy of being rival of that of

Gerson de Soncino was the Venetian, under the superintendence of Daniel Bomberg. It sent forth a great number of works; and, among others, a Hebrew Bible, with the Targum and various commentaries of the rabbins, forming four volumes in folio. This edition, which was executed in 1524—5, is very rare and much esteemed, and regarded as the source of all the Masoretic copies of the Scriptures. After the departure of Gerson de Soncino into Turkey, Venice was, with the exception of Bologna, the only city in Italy which continued to print books for the use of the Jews. But various presses had been established in Germany and Poland, which supplied the Jewish nation with abundance of copies of the works most in esteem among them. Nor was the benefit derived from them confined to the Israelites. Several distinguished Christian men of letters applied themselves to the study of Hebrew, and explored the obscure writings of the rabbins; content to wade through much trifling and irrelevant matter, if they could thereby obtain some useful helps to the right understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures. The bigoted Catholics, indeed, condemned the study of rabbinical literature altogether; and alleged, that the only effect which it could have on those who devoted themselves to it, would be to incline them to Judaism. A person by the name of Pfeffercorn, a converted Hebrew, even requested the Emperor Maximilian to order all the works, which issued from the Jewish presses, to be committed to the flames. But the celebrated Capnio, or Reuchlin, one of the best Hebrew scholars that Germany has ever produced, interfered to prevent the execution of this barbarous design; and was fortunately successful in rescuing the works of the Jewish sages from the fate which awaited them.

Besides the distinguished printers whom we have mentioned, Italy produced various rabbins, who acquired great reputation by their talents and learning. Among these was Gedaliah ben Joseph Jachia, born at Imola in 1500, who was at once a historian, a preacher, a lawyer, and philosopher. He has left a number of works, some of which are valuable for the information they contain respecting the history of the Jews. The most remarkable of these is the *Salseleth ha Khabalah*, or Chain of Tradition, upon which he spent upwards of thirty years. It is divided into three parts. The first treats of the history of the Israelites till the fifteenth century; the second discusses the subjects of astronomy and the natural history of man; while the third embraces the history of the Jews in the fifteenth century, particularly dwelling upon the events which befell them before their expulsion from Spain. This work has proved a mine of information to modern authors, who have written the annals of this singular people.

Abraham Usque, who was born at Lisbon, printed at Ferrara in 1553 a Spanish translation of the Bible, made with much care from the Hebrew text, and intended for the use of the Jews who had been banished from Spain. A much more celebrated person was Solomon Usque, probably a near relation of Abraham, who printed his most remarkable work, the "*Consolation of Israel*." This book is written in Portuguese, or rather in the corrupt dialect spoken by the Jews of Portugal, in which words of Asiatic origin abound. It was intended to console his countrymen for the afflictions and persecutions which they had undergone, by representing them as taking place by the express appointment of Divine Providence.

The work is in the form of a dialogue, and one of the speakers is the patriarch Jacob, who recounts the various calamities that have befallen his unhappy race in different ages and countries. The melancholy reflections, which could not but be occasioned by the consideration of so long-continued a series of disasters, are in some measure relieved by the discourses of the other two interlocutors, the prophets Nahum and Zechariah; who inform him that the Almighty has, for wise and holy purposes, seen fit to afflict his chosen people, and repeat those predictions in the Old Testament which announce the future calamities of the Jews. The "Consolation of Israel" is written in a much plainer and simpler style than that which usually distinguishes Jewish writings, and is, for the most part, characterized by a spirit of moderation towards Christianity. Yet, occasionally, the patriarch is introduced as rejoicing over the misfortunes which have overtaken the persecutors of the Israelites; and he ascribes the death of various princes, such as Sisebut, king of the Goths, Philip of France, and John II. of Portugal, to the vengeance of God, directed against them for banishing his ancient people. He sees the same Divine displeasure manifested against nations who had ill treated the Jews; the Spaniards were punished by their unfortunate wars in Italy; the French, by their unsuccessful contests with the Spaniards; the English by the invasions of the Scots; and the Germans by those of the Turks. The "Consolation of Israel" is now an exceedingly rare work, having never been reprinted since its original publication.

Another historical work was produced by the rabbin Joseph ben Joshua; it is entitled *Dibra haiiamim le*

malce Zarphath, or the words of the days of the kings of France. It contains an account of the wars between the French and the Turks, and of the expeditions to the Holy Land; and likewise treats of the persecutions to which the Jews had been subjected from the seventh to the middle of the sixteenth century. Bartolocci regards it as the most faithful history which the Jews have given to the public. It was first printed at Venice in 1554.

One of the most famous of the Italian rabbins was Jehadah Arie, better known by the name of Leo of Modena, in which city he was born. He published a Hebrew Bible, with rabbinical commentaries, in four folio volumes; and a work, called "The Mouth of the Lion," which is a dictionary of those words used by the rabbins, which are neither pure Hebrew nor pure Chaldee. It is very useful to those who study the rabbinical writings. The best known of his works is his treatise on the manners and customs of the modern Jews, in which is to be found a great variety of curious and interesting information, respecting the mode of living, which then characterized the professors of Judaism. Leo was a bitter enemy to Christianity, and endeavored to prove our Saviour an impostor by the most absurd means; alleging that the letters of the word Jesus, if reckoned up according to their numerical power, amounted to 616, which was likewise the number formed by the letters of the words Elohe Nechar, "the strange gods." Hence he concluded that it was impious to worship Him as the true God. Such trifling arguments could effect little against the evidences of the evangelical religion. Leo, though born at Modena, was resident the chief part of his life at Venice; where he filled the honorable office

of head of the synagogue, and died at the age of seventy or eighty, for in this accounts differ.

We have previously mentioned, that the condition of the Jews at Rome depended upon the mere will of the pope, and became prosperous or miserable, according as the sovereign pontiff was of a tolerant or intolerant temper. It was in the pontificate of Alexander VI. that the Israelites were expelled from Spain and Portugal. Many of them fled to Rome, and were but coldly received by their brethren there, who were perhaps afraid that the strangers would be looked upon with jealousy by the papal power. But they were mistaken. Alexander enjoined them to treat the exiles with all kindness, and encouraged them to settle in his dominions. It is probable, that a pontiff who hesitated at no crime, and seldom showed himself influenced in the slightest degree by humanity, extended his protection to the Jews solely from motives of policy, knowing them to be peaceful and industrious subjects; but whatever his reasons for tolerating and favoring them were, his conduct, in this respect, must ever stand in favorable contrast to the short-sighted bigotry, which characterized the proceedings of so many of his contemporary sovereigns.

In 1539, during the pontificate of Paul III., grievous complaints were made by Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, in the petty state of Avignon, of the indulgence which the Jews there enjoyed under the protection of the pope. He affirmed that it was exceedingly inconsistent in the sovereign pontiff to persecute the Lutherans, as enemies of the church, while he favored the Jews, who, as unbelievers, were assuredly worse than any heretics. He added, that the pope had never shown

such kindness to Christians as he had manifested to the adversaries of the Gospel; who were emboldened by his indulgence to conduct themselves in the most haughty manner towards true believers, whom they seized every opportunity to oppress or defraud. Perhaps it was in some measure in consequence of this remonstrance of Sadolet, that Paul III., a few years after, issued a bull unfavorable to the Jews. In it he annuls all decrees of kings or emperors conferring privileges on the Israelites contrary to the papal edicts; and requires the strictest care to be taken of converts from Judaism, separating them entirely from their relations, and subjecting them to the vengeance of the inquisition, if they should be found guilty of practising any Hebrew rites.

Some years afterwards, Julius III., conceiving the Talmud to be full of impious opinions and fables, ordered all the copies of it which could be found to be burnt. In his reign Joseph Tzarphati, a famous rabbin, who had long taught at Rome, was converted to Christianity. To flatter Julius, he took the surname of Monte, which was the family name of the pope. He both preached and wrote against Judaism, but we know not with what effect.

Paul IV., a man of a stern and haughty temper, had scarcely assumed the tiara, when he fulminated a most severe edict against the Jews. He ordered every synagogue in his dominions to contribute ten ducats annually for the instruction of the converts to Christianity, thus inflicting the most cruel injury on their conscientious convictions. He further deprived the Israelites of all liberty to pursue any branch of commerce, restricting them to money-lending; forbade them to associate with Chris-



tians or to possess more than one synagogue in any city or town; and required them to abstain from vending the pledges of borrowers for eighteen months, and even then they were to restore the surplus. They were to sell all their own immoveable property in six months' time, and never to acquire any more. This provision was especially oppressive; for the property which they were thus obliged to dispose of was valued at 500,000 crowns, and they sold it at such a disadvantage, that they scarcely received a tenth part of its worth. So arbitrary was the pontiff, that he would not allow Jewish physicians to attend Christian patients, even when they were sent for by them. The only enactment of Paul IV. in which we can trace any vestige of reason or justice, is that in which he condemns to the flames only those rabbinical writings, which contain any thing blasphemous against our Lord, permitting all others to be possessed and read by the Jews. Although this provision is not consistent with the more enlarged views of modern toleration, it indicates a wiser spirit than that, which frequently instigated princes and pontiffs to destroy all Jewish volumes without exception. It was in the pontificate of this pope that a zealous Dominican, Sixtus of Sienna, was sent from Rome to Cremona, to burn a splendid library which the Jews had collected there. This monk relates that he committed to the flames 12,000 volumes, and regrets that the weakness or avarice of the kings and princes of Christendom permitted the Israelites anywhere to possess rabbinical books. It would appear that he wished to destroy every Hebrew volume in the world.

Pius IV., the next pope, annulled the persecuting edict of his predecessor, and restored the Jews to nearly



all the privileges which they had previously enjoyed. They did not, however, obtain his countenance without the payment of a considerable sum. His successor, Pius V., accused them of magic, extortion, fraud, robbery, profligacy, and various other crimes; and banished them from every part of his dominions except Rome and Ancona. His reasons for retaining in his capital persons whom he charged with such detestable deeds, were his desire to keep the Christians in mind of the sufferings, to which their Saviour had been subjected by their ancestors; and to afford the Jews themselves an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Christianity, and being converted to it. Such at least were the motives which he assigned; but it has been surmised that, with all his professed abhorrence of them, he found them too useful subjects seriously to wish their banishment from his territories.

Although Gregory XIII. allowed the Jews to return to some cities in the States of the Church, such as Ravenna, he subjected them to the control of the inquisition; prohibited them from reading the Talmud, or other books hostile to Christianity; and obliged them to appear at the sermons, which were statedly delivered for their conversion. Their behavior, while hearing these discourses, is said not to have been very decorous; and the efforts of the preachers were probably attended with but little success. Sixtus V., the next pope, saw the impolicy of the restrictions which his predecessors had imposed upon the Israelites; and annulled all persecuting or harassing edicts, granting to the Hebrew nation the most perfect liberty of trade, and subjecting them to the civil tribunals, and the ordinary rate of taxation.

In the northern parts of Europe, the Jews were exposed to persecutions, similar to those which had oppressed them in the south. Ladislas, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in 1454-5, permitted the inhabitants of various cities in his dominions to expel those who resided there, to seize upon their houses and lands, and to extinguish all debts due to them, upon condition of their continuing to pay the amount of tribute, which had been formerly levied from the unhappy Israelites. During the reign of the emperor Maximilian, various complaints were preferred against the Jews. They were accused of murdering Christian children, counterfeiting the coin of the realm, and practising usury to an enormous extent. Maximilian yielded to the clamor against them, and ordered them to leave his dominions. So eager were the estates of Stiria to procure the expulsion of the Jews, that they offered to the emperor the sum of 38,000 florins, as an indemnification for the loss which he would sustain by the cessation of the tribute formerly enacted from the unfortunate race, who were the objects of their deadly hatred. They even enumerated the perpetual exile of the Israelites among the articles of their constitution, to which each successive emperor was obliged to swear at his accession; and at the present time, it is only with great difficulty, and as an especial indulgence, that any Jew is permitted to reside, for even a short period, within the limits of the duchy of Stiria. From the state of Brandenburg the Jews were expelled about the beginning of the sixteenth century; and were obliged to take an oath, that they would neither return themselves, nor be in any way instrumental in inducing their brethren to penetrate into the country. But though they were thus

banished from various parts of Germany, they were nowhere exposed to the loss of life, except at Ratisbon; where the populace assaulted them, and massacred a number, so that the survivors were glad to escape from their hands, even at the price of exile and confiscation of property.

Nearly about the same time, a Jewish physician of Venice, named Leo, had penetrated to the court of Russia; and had undertaken to cure the son of the czar, Iwan or John, who was very dangerously ill. He appears to have miscalculated his own skill, for the young prince died, and the czar was so enraged at the disappointment of his expectations, that he ordered him to be put to death. Shortly afterwards, a rabbin of the name of Zacharias, greatly addicted to astrology, found means to become the head of a sect that devoted itself to the study of the cabalistic books, which their leader assured them had been transmitted down from the times of David and Solomon. These sectaries imagined, that the volumes they regarded with so much reverence, contained, concealed in their mystical phraseology, the most important secrets of nature, which it was well worth even a life's labor to acquire. Zacharias won over to his opinions a number both of the priests and the laity; but the superior clergy condemned their opinions as heretical, and anathematized them in a council. Not content with ecclesiastical fulminations, they applied to the czar to exert his authority in suppressing these dangerous doctrines. It is uncertain what was the result of their request, some accounts stating, that the czar refused to comply with it; while others allege, that he endeavored by persecution to extirpate the followers of Zacharias, who, notwith-

standing, continued to maintain their opinions, and have, it is said, transmitted them even to the present day.

We now turn to Germany. The Reformation brought out the rabbinical writings from the obscurity, to which they had long been condemned. Both Protestant and Popish divines began to study them; convinced of the great assistance, which, with all their errors and absurdities, they afford towards the right understanding of the Old Testament. But the great revolution in religious opinion, which was the consequence of the efforts of Luther, does not appear to have produced any remarkable change in the condition of the Jews; although it did, by paving the way for the toleration, which, a century afterwards, was generally established throughout Europe, in the end secure a more wide-spread indulgence towards them. Luther himself disliked the Israelites on account of their usurious practices; and, by his influence, prevented some German princes from giving them liberty of residence within their dominions. At first, he seems to have been inclined to favor violent methods of conversion; but further reflection convinced him of the unlawfulness and inefficacy of such means of propagating Christianity; and he reprobated all efforts to win them over to the truth, except such as consisted in argument and persuasion. The Jewish writers tell various malicious stories of the great reformer; and among others, they allege that he sought to obtain a large sum of money from the Jews at Frankfort, promising to reimburse them amply by the encomiums which he would insert in his books. His attempt, it is added, was unsuccessful. This tale is sufficiently confuted by the well-known disinterestedness of Luther, who was as little influenced by covet-

ousness as any man that ever lived. The zeal, which was so extensively revived by the reformation, could not fail to display itself, among other ways, by efforts for the conversion of the Jews. The works, which various Christian writers published against Judaism, were answered by different rabbins of talent and learning, who frequently exhibited great acuteness in making the best of their cause. Several of these treatises of the Jewish polemics were styled by their authors *Mizzachon*, or "The Victory," being considered by them to be triumphant demonstrations of the fallacy of the arguments of their Christian opponents.

In Poland the Jews were more favorably treated than in most parts of Europe. There they seem never to have been exposed to the sanguinary persecutions, which in other countries reflected so much disgrace on the professors of Christianity. Considerable privileges were bestowed upon them by Boleslas, duke of Poland, about the middle of the thirteenth century. A charter of his is still extant, which protects them from oppression of every kind; and breathes a wise spirit of toleration, standing in most favorable contrast to the harsh and oppressive enactments of contemporary sovereigns. This charter was without modification confirmed about eighty years afterwards, by Casimir the Great, the great-grandson of Boleslas. Though Poland afterwards became remarkable for its toleration of all religious opinions, the Romish clergy, in the first heat of the controversy between Popery and Protestantism, influenced the government to forbid the exercise of the reformed faith. But this temporary intolerance did not affect the Jews. The most unrestricted toleration was continued to them, and

in consequence they flourished in a remarkable manner. They formed the only middle class between the nobles and the serfs, and engrossed almost every branch of traffic. In several towns and villages, they formed nearly the whole of the population. Nor were they remarkable only for industry, frugality, and wealth. They had numerous academies, which became the seats of rabbinical erudition, and produced many distinguished men. Nowhere was the authority of tradition more revered; and nowhere were the persons of the rabbins, as the depositaries of that tradition, held in greater respect. It was customary for Jews, from all quarters of Europe, to send their children to be educated in the Polish seminaries; because there they would certainly be instructed in all the learning which, as adherents of Judaism, it was necessary or advisable for them to acquire.

As long as the United Provinces continued under the yoke of Austria or Spain, the Jews could have little hope of either toleration or favor. It was with great difficulty that a few of the refugees from Spain and Portugal were allowed to reside there. But after these provinces had succeeded in emancipating themselves from the tyrannical sway of Phillip II., the Jews were allowed to settle without any restriction, and partake in the peace and prosperity of an active and industrious people. It is probable, that they would have few opportunities of overreaching their Christian neighbors, who were as sharp-sighted and shrewd as themselves; but in the honorable paths of commerce and banking they had ample means of acquiring wealth, and of these means they availed themselves to the utmost. As the Dutch began to acquire colonies in the East and West, the Jews established

themselves in those new settlements, and founded synagogues in the most of them.

Nor did the Israelites in Holland addict themselves to money-making merely; they cultivated rabbinical learning, and their academies produced various distinguished men. A distinction was maintained between the Jews of the South and those of the North; the former being the descendants of the refugees from Spain and Portugal, the latter those whose ancestors had been resident in the country. The former, mindful of the glories of their forefathers, during the middle ages, considered themselves as the Jewish nobility, and sometimes treated their northern brethren with aristocratical haughtiness. But their pretensions were probably ridiculed by their republican neighbors; who would pay more respect to what they considered the far more truly honorable distinction, which they frequently acquired by successful commercial speculations. The riches which they obtained by traffic, often enabled them to display in their mansions a splendor and luxury, to which the parsimonious habits of even the wealthiest Dutchmen rendered them strangers.

Few events occurred, in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, to mark the condition of the Jews in the Turkish empire. They were early allowed to establish a printing-press at Constantinople; which proved very advantageous to the adherents of Judaism in the East, as it enabled them to multiply copies of their sacred books, which had previously become very scarce. Throughout the Ottoman dominions they enjoyed a toleration, which might have put to shame the bigoted oppression of the sovereigns who professed Christianity; and the proud



indolence of the Turks soon allowed them to engross almost the whole trade of the Levant. Sometimes, unquestionably, they might be exposed to the oppression of a sultan or pasha, stimulated by avarice only or cruelty, but these vexations were temporary, and, in general, they enjoyed a peace and prosperity, which, in some measure, indemnified them for the misery and persecution, to which they had too often been subjected in Christian countries.

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## CHAPTER XL

Flourishing State of the Jews in Holland—Manasseh ben Israel—His unsuccessful Attempt to prevail upon the English Government to re-admit the Jews—They are re-admitted under Charles II.—Spinoza, the Atheist, originally a Dutch Jew—Orobio writes against him—Orobio's Conference with Limborch—Esdras of Hamburgh converts many to the Christian Faith—Leopold I. expels the Jews from Vienna, but afterwards allows them to return—Adventures of Sabbathia Sevi, a false Messiah—He is extensively recognized by the Jews as their Deliverer—He is at last obliged to turn a Mussulman, in order to save his Life—Sect of the Sabbathaites—The Zoharites—Mysterious Character of Frank, their Founder—Remarkable Sect of the Chasidim—Their Opinions and Customs—The Jews oppressed by Frederic the Great of Prussia—Tumult in England on occasion of a Bill for their Naturalization—Career of Moses Mendelsohn—The "Jerusalem" and the Phædon—Privileges granted to the Jews by Joseph II.—The Callenberg Institution, the first Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews—Its Labors and Extinction—The Jews re-admitted into France by the Revolution—Napoleon assembles the Grand Sanhedrim—His unsuccessful Efforts to make political Tools of the Jews. (A. D. 1550—1806.)

WE have thus brought down the history of the Jews to the beginning of the seventeenth century. At that time they were excluded by law from England, France,



Spain, Portugal, Naples, and various parts of Germany. They enjoyed toleration and favor in Poland and Turkey, and were beginning to share in the prosperity, which the United Provinces had been gradually acquiring, since they had succeeded in establishing their independence. In these last-mentioned countries, if they nowhere possessed the intimate confidence of kings, or vied in splendor with nobles, or produced rabbins, whose learning and reputation might rival that of Aben Ezra or Maimonides,—if, in short, they could not flatter themselves that they enjoyed, or were likely to enjoy, anything resembling a second “Golden Age,” they at least might be thankful that they had secured to them the means of acquiring independence, and even wealth, the just reward of their constant and unwearied industry. They were no longer in exclusive possession, either of the medical skill, or the commercial habits, which had so greatly distinguished them in the middle ages, for Europe had now awoke from her long repose; and the Christian nations were vying with one another in activity, and industry, and science. But if many opportunities were thus denied them of growing rich by outstripping the indolence, or overreaching the unsuspectingness of their semi-barbarous neighbors, the Jews might congratulate themselves that, at least in a considerable portion of Europe, they were exempted from those terrible outbursts of royal, and priestly, and popular fanaticism, under which their ancestors had so often groaned. And, with respect to the states from which they were still excluded, they might entertain not ill-founded hopes, that the progress of knowledge, and commerce, and liberality of sentiment, would gradually break down the influ-

ence of even the most perverse and deeply-rooted prejudices. The rulers of those countries would, they conceived, ere long be brought to see that it was their true policy to make no distinction of religions in their dominions, and to encourage, by toleration and protection, the peaceful and industrious of every creed.

In Holland the Jews continued to flourish during the seventeenth century; and their synagogue at Amsterdam produced various distinguished men. One of the most celebrated of these was Manasseh ben Israel, who was of Spanish descent, and of the family of Abarbanel. So high was his reputation, while but a youth, that at the age of eighteen he was appointed to explain the Talmud, in the great synagogue at Amsterdam. At twenty-eight, he published the first part of a treatise, in which he labors with great acuteness and erudition, to explain the difficulties and seeming contradictions of Scripture. He likewise wrote a work on the resurrection, and various pieces relating to the rites and customs of the Jews. He intended to have composed a history of his brethren, which should embrace the whole period between the destruction of Jerusalem and his own time; and it is much to be regretted that death arrested this undertaking, after but a slight progress had been made in it. He likewise aspired to poetical fame, and translated Phocylides into Spanish verse. But, unfortunately, he aimed at success in too many things; and not content with questions of Judicial theology, he published a work on the controversy then raging in Holland, between the Calvinists and Arminians. In the difficult questions of grace and predestination he got bewildered; and, while he dissented from Pelagius in some respects,

he agreed with him in others, justly exposing himself to the charge of self-contradiction.

Towards the close of his life, Manasseh occupied himself in endeavoring to procure for his countrymen liberty of settling in England. The monarchy had been overthrown, and the sovereign power was vested in the hands of Cromwell. Manasseh thought that a period, in which so much that was ancient and time-hallowed had been swept away, was favorable to an attempt to rescind the persecuting edict of Edward the First, which had banished the Jews from the shores of England. He therefore presented a petition to the Protector, in which he intimated his belief, that Cromwell had been especially appointed by Divine Providence to the high and honorable situation which he now filled ; and requested him to employ his influence and authority in promoting the recall of God's ancient people, whose enemies, he alleged, had never prospered in the end. Another petition was addressed to the chief men of the Commonwealth ; and in it Manasseh mingled much praise of the humanity of the English nation, with an exposition of the advantages that would result from the admission of his brethren into the country, from which they had been so long excluded. Cromwell summoned a council of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen ministers ; to debate, first, whether it were lawful to admit the Jews, and, secondly, if it were lawful, on what conditions it would be advisable to grant them an entrance into the country. The lawyers pronounced at once that the proposed measure was legal ; the citizens were divided in opinion ; but the divines discussed the matter so long and so inconclusively, that the Protector's

patience was exhausted, and he adjourned the decision of the question to a more favorable occasion. It is a curious fact, that the republican writer Harrington, in his *Oceana*, gravely proposes to rid England of the burden of Irish affairs, by selling the island to the Israelites. But the general sentiment of the period was far from being in favor of the readmission of the Jews, owing to the still deep-rooted prejudices against them. The most extravagant stories were propagated and believed, of the conditions which they had made with the Protector. It was confidently asserted, that they had offered Cromwell £500,000, on condition of obtaining St. Paul's as their synagogue: the notorious Hugh Peters was pointed out as one of the promoters of this profane and scandalous bargain. There was another equally groundless tale promulgated, to the effect, that the Asiatic Jews had sent a deputation to the Protector, to inquire if he were not the Messiah; and that these deputies had even gone to Huntingdon to search his pedigree, and see if he could claim Jewish descent. It is probable that the aversion of the people to the readmission of the Jews, made Cromwell eager to seize upon the divided opinions of the citizens and divines mentioned above, as a fair pretext for declining to give any effect to the application of Manasseh ben Israel. He felt that his position was too insecure to admit of his setting at defiance the well-known opinions of at least a very large proportion of the inhabitants of Great Britain. But although the Jews failed in their application to Cromwell, they were more fortunate in the reign of Charles II. Probably owing to the convenience of their constant supply of ready money to that needy monarch, they were quietly allowed to settle

in the kingdom, where they have ever since maintained their ground.

We return to the Jews of Holland. Although many learned men, who almost rivalled the fame of Manasseh ben Israel, issued from the school of Amsterdam; yet the most remarkable person whom it produced was Benedict Spinoza, the founder of modern atheism. Spinoza was descended from the Portuguese Jews, who sought a refuge in Holland, when expelled from their native country. He learned the trade of grinding optical glasses, and thereby procured the means of living in the humble and frugal manner which was agreeable to his simple habits. When, in consequence of his atheistical opinions, he forsook the synagogue, the rabbins fulminated against him the Schammath, or greater excommunication; and it is said that they even attempted his life. Not thinking himself safe in his native city, he retired, first to Leyden, and afterwards to the Hague, where he appears to have died in 1677, at the age of forty-five. Detestable as his irreligious principles were, his conduct was always decent and moral, and he was regarded with affection and respect by his intimate friends. Some eccentric habits, in which he indulged, have induced modern writers to suspect that he had a tendency to insanity. His ruling passion seems to have been the love of fame; and, says Bayle, "he would have sacrificed his life to glory, even if he should have been torn in pieces by the mob."

The atheistical principles of Spinoza, which, like many other infidels, he never had the courage openly to avow, though they might easily be discerned by those who read his works with attention, were combated both by Christian and Israelite authors. The most distinguished

of his Jewish antagonists was a Spaniard, called Don Balthasar Orobio, who after his circumcision, changed his name to Ishak. This man had originally, like his ancestors, professed the Romish faith, for the advancement of his secular interest. He studied philosophy, and became professor of metaphysics in the University of Salamanca. He next practised medicine at Seville, but was there seized by the Inquisition, upon suspicion that he secretly adhered to Judaism. He was kept in confinement three years, and his head was almost turned by the ill usage to which he was subjected. He still continued, however, to profess himself a Christian. After his release, he left Spain, and came into France, where he obtained the professorship of physic at Toulouse. But he grew weary or ashamed of concealing his real opinions; and retired into Holland, where he could profess Judaism without danger to life, liberty, or property. He fixed his residence at Amsterdam, where he submitted to circumcision, and practised as a physician with great skill and success. He endeavored, by answering Spinoza's atheistical arguments, to arrest the progress of his opinions in Holland.

But Orobio did not content himself with combating atheistical doctrines only; he had a conference with Limborch, the learned professor of theology among the Armenians or Remonstrants at Amsterdam. In this debate it is acknowledged that both disputants acquitted themselves very ably; and the published report of the conference is regarded as one of the most standard works upon the Jewish controversy. Both parties retained their previous convictions; and it does not appear that any great effect was produced by Limborch's arguments

upon his Jewish countrymen. The exertions of a converted rabbin, named Esdras, at Hamburgh (called, from the number of Jews resident there, "the Little Jerusalem") were more successful. His labors, which were carried on about the year 1690, were attended by such happy results, that Bishop Kidder, a contemporary, states in his "Demonstration of the Messias," "There have not been so many conversions of the Jews, since the time of miracles, as Esdras made at Hamburgh." A divine of that city, whose zeal exceeded his judgment, imagined that more conversions would take place, if violence was attempted against the professors of Judaism; but the magistrates wisely paid no attention to his earnest efforts to induce them to commence a persecution.

During the thirty years' war, the Bohemian Jews behaved with great bravery in the defence of Prague, against the combined forces of the Swedes and German Protestants. In return for this demonstration of loyalty, the Emperor Ferdinand III. granted them various privileges. About the middle of the seventeenth century, a rabbin named Zechariah obtained permission from Leopold I. to build a synagogue at Vienna, and open a school there. But, a few years afterwards, the emperor withdrew his protection from the Jews, drove them from the city, and seized their synagogue, in order to convert it into a church. The Jewish writers assert that this persecution was occasioned by the bigotry of the empress, who persuaded her husband that her barrenness was a punishment inflicted by God for the toleration which he had extended to the Israelites. They add, that the Almighty avenged the cause of his chosen people, by caus-

ing the empress to die in childbed. After her death, the Jews were allowed to resume their quarters in Vienna; but they were still occasionally exposed to vexation and injury from outbursts of popular fanaticism.

But by far the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of the Jews, during the seventeenth century, was the appearance of the false Messiah, Sabbathai Sevi. Impostors had arisen from time to time among the Jews in every age from the destruction of Jerusalem; and had practised, with more or less success, upon the credulity of their contemporaries. The exploits of those who appeared during the middle ages have been transmitted to us in so exaggerated and legendary a form, that it seems unnecessary to dwell upon them. But the extraordinary circumstances which marked the career of Sabbathai, and the full information which we possess on the subject, render it requisite to speak of him in some detail.

Sabbathai Sevi was the younger son of Mordecai Sevi, who was first a poulterer at Smyrna or Aleppo (for accounts vary), and afterwards became broker to some English merchants. He was born in the year 1625. He made such progress in the study of the Cabala, that he was appointed a kakim or rabbin in his eighteenth year; and soon after began to distinguish himself by the frequency of his fasts, and the general austerity of his life. He married twice, but declined all conjugal intercourse with both his wives. This unusual conduct was ascribed to different motives, according to the favorable or unfavorable opinion which his neighbors had formed of him. He now gave up himself to the study of prophecy, and soon proclaimed that he was the long-expected Messiah. He applied to himself the words of Isaiah, xiv. 14,



“I will ascend above the heights of the clouds :” and actually one day asked his disciples, whether they had not seen him carried up into the air. He accused of unbelief those who refused to acknowledge that they had seen his miraculous ascent. As a proof of his divine mission, he ventured to pronounce the ineffable name, Jehovah. The rabbins were struck with horror at this impious boldness, cited him to appear before them, declared him worthy of death, and applied to the Turkish authorities to procure the execution of this sentence. Sabbathai fled to Thessalonica ; but the rabbins there obliged him to depart ; and he passed through Greece and Egypt, on his way to Jerusalem. As he remained a short time at Gaza, he made an important proselyte, in the person of one Nathan Benjamin ; who declared that he had seen a vision of the Lord, similar to that which had appeared to Ezekiel the prophet at the river of Chebar, and had heard Sabbathai declared by the voice of Jehovah himself to be the Messiah. In Jerusalem Sabbathai preached with great success ; and Nathan acted as his zealous coadjutor, proclaiming himself to be Elias, the precursor of the Messiah, and boldly predicting that ere long the crown of empire would be wrenched from the head of the sultan, and placed upon that of the Son of David. Sabbathai left Jerusalem after a residence of several years, and returned to Egypt ; where he married a woman, represented by his enemies as of very indifferent character, but asserted by his followers to have been marked out by the most astonishing miracles as the destined bride of the Messiah. After his marriage, he again repaired to Jerusalem, where, emboldened by his previous success, he went into the synagogue, and proclaimed himself to

be the Messiah. The rabbins denounced him as a blasphemous impostor, and excommunicated him, and constrained him to leave the city. He fled to his native place, Smyrna. There his pretensions had been formerly scouted by the rabbins, and there he now met with the most determined opposition from the same quarter. But the people were with him, gained over by the plausibility of his discourses, and the seeming sanctity of his life. Various attempts were made by the rabbins to destroy his influence, and even to put him to death; but the enthusiasm of the people was proof against all their arguments, and the possibility of carrying through any violent measures against him were precluded by the support of the *cadi* of Smyrna, who had been induced, probably by bribes, to lend his countenance to the impostor. A great impression was made in Sabbathai's favor by the sudden death of Amakia, a Jew of rank and consequence, who had publicly denounced him as a mere pretender. His death was regarded as a judgment from Heaven, for his impious rejection of the claims of the true Messiah.

Sabbathai now assumed the pomp of royalty. He took the name of king of the kings of the earth, and conferred on his two brothers the titles of kings of Israel and Judah. A throne was erected for him, and another for his consort; when he went in procession, a banner was borne before him, inscribed with the words, "The right hand of the Lord is exalted." A public prayer was offered up in the synagogue, in which he was acknowledged to be the Messiah. Men and women, youths and maidens, in various parts of the Turkish empire, assumed the character of prophets and prophetesses; and were said to have miraculously acquired a knowledge of

Hebrew, of which the first use that they made was to utter the words, "Sabbathai Sevi is the true Messiah, of the race of David; to him the crown and the kingdom are given." These frantic ravings, which were accompanied with uncouth gestures, like those exhibited by the Pythia of old, were looked upon as accomplishments of the ever-memorable words of Joel: "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." The greatest excitement prevailed among the Jews throughout Europe and Asia, from the wealthy merchants in Amsterdam to the poor husbandmen in Persia. The course of business was interrupted; the most inveterate usurers, the most plodding merchants, forgot for a time their engrossing occupations, to discuss the pretensions of the self-styled Messiah. Those who were able to afford it, eagerly sent rich presents to the court of Sabbathai, in acknowledgment of the justice of his claims to the dominion of the earth, and the possession of its richest products. At Smyrna, it was dangerous even to hint a doubt of the validity of his pretensions; a distinguished rabbin, who refused to re-echo the popular cry, preserved his life only by a timely flight.

But Sabbathai was constantly urged by his zealous partisans not to rest contented with the homage of the people of Smyrna, but boldly to proceed to Constantinople, and deprive the grand seignior of the crown, which rightfully belonged to the Son of David. He found it impossible to resist the importunity of his friends, and accordingly he set out for the capital in a small vessel; while a number of Jews proceeded thither by land,

to witness the triumph of their leader, which they so confidently expected. When the impostor arrived, the grand vizier having received instructions from the sultan, who was absent, sent an aga with some janissaries to apprehend him; but we are told that first this officer, and then another who was despatched on the same errand, returned trembling, and declaring that they could not venture to lay hands on a personage whose countenance beamed with an awful glory, like that of an angel. Sabbathai, however, thought proper to save the vizier further trouble by surrendering himself voluntarily, and he was committed to the castle of Sestos; where he was kept without any harshness of treatment, and allowed to have free intercourse with his partisans, who flocked from all quarters to visit him. He issued a manifesto, in which he suspended the fast usually kept on the 9th of August, on account of the destruction of Jerusalem; and ordered the day to be celebrated with the utmost marks of rejoicing, as the birthday of the Messiah. He likewise despatched ambassadors into various countries, to proclaim that he was the promised deliverer of Israel, and to recount the various miracles he had wrought and which he continued to perform.

The homage which Sabbathai continued, even in his prison, to receive, might have given him unmixed pleasure, if he had not been exposed to the hostility of Nehemiah Cosen, a Polish Jew; who obstinately refused to acknowledge the justice of his claims, and turned Mohammedan in order to save his life, which was aimed at by the partisans of the impostor. He was taken under the protection of the Turkish authorities, and sent to Adrianople, where the sultan was then residing. Pro-

bably by his representations Sabbathai was sent for, and ushered into the presence of that sovereign, whose crown he had so often declared that he would place on his own brow. The false Messiah was ignorant of Turkish, the grand seignior was equally ignorant of Hebrew, and a Jewish renegade was appointed to act as interpreter. Sabbathai now showed no marks of that awful majesty which had struck terror into the two agas of the grand vizier; he stood in trembling silence before the monarch whose power at a distance he had insolently defied. The sultan asked him if he were the Messiah; but Sabbathai was too much paralyzed by fear to make any reply. His fears were not groundless, for the grand seignior told him that he would shoot three poisoned arrows at him to test his pretensions, and see if he were invulnerable, as became the Messiah. If he went through this ordeal in safety, he himself would acknowledge him to be the Son of David. If he did not choose to submit to so reasonable a requisition, he must either embrace Mohammedanism or suffer death. This was a puzzling position for the impostor, and it must have been indeed a desperate fanaticism which could in such circumstances maintain itself in composure. The renegade interpreter urged him to save his life by abjuring his faith; and he did not hesitate long, but uttered the irrevocable words, "I am a Mussulman." It might have been expected that the grand seignior would dismiss him with contempt as an impudent impostor; but, instead of doing so, he ordered him the usual distinction of a pelisse of honor, and gave him the title of Capidgi Basha. When the news of Sabbathai's conversion to Islamism spread abroad, his followers were struck with consternation; but he alleged

that his change had taken place by the express command of God, and quoted the tradition, which said, "that the Messiah must remain some time among the unbelievers." He likewise affirmed that the words of Isaiah, "He was numbered with the transgressors," predicted the temporary conversion to the Mussulman faith which he had recently undergone. Many of the Jews, thinking that they could not err in following their Messiah, also embraced Islamism. The rabbins, not knowing to what extent the defection might spread, conceived that the best course which they could adopt was to get rid of Sabbathai; and therefore they contrived to insinuate suspicions of him into the ear of the sultan, who caused him to be arrested and confined in the castle of Belgrade, where he died in the year 1676, in the fiftieth year of his age.

The extent to which human credulity will go has seldom been so well exemplified as in the case of Sabbathai. His partisans were not staggered by his apostasy, but readily received the explanation which he gave of it. They did not even abandon his cause at his death, but obstinately asserted that he had been translated to heaven, like Enoch and Elijah. The sect of the Sabbathaites spread in every direction, although the most vigorous efforts were made by the rabbins to counteract its progress. The devoted attachment of Nathan of Gaza had given way, when he heard of Sabbathai's embracing the Mussulman religion; and he endeavored to convince his Jewish brethren that his quondam friend was a mere pretender to the title of the Messiah. But this loss was in some measure counterbalanced by a far more extraordinary change. Nehemiah Cosen, the most

inveterate antagonist of Sabbathai—who had scouted his pretensions when he could only do so at the hazard of his life; and had, it is believed, in a great measure, contributed to that stroke of policy on the part of the sultan, which unmasked the real character of the pretended Messiah—saw fit, for some reason or other, to change his opinions; and became a most fervent admirer and partisan of the man, whom he had once held up to public scorn as an audacious impostor. Speculation busied itself with conjecturing the period at which the Messiah would reappear. One prophet affirmed with confidence that Israel would again behold her deliverer in the space of  $111\frac{1}{2}$  years. But a more extravagant prediction was delivered by a Jew named Michael Cordoso, and met with great acceptance in Mohammedan countries, especially in the states of Barbary. He alleged that the Son of David would not come again, until all the descendants of Abraham were either righteous or wicked; and, as he thought that the latter alternative was of the more easy attainment, he exhorted them all to embrace Mohammedanism. A number of Jews, in this absurd way, renounced the religion of their fathers. The Sabbathaites still exist as one of the Jewish sects; but they have been supposed to be kept together rather by a hereditary *esprit du corps*, than by any well-defined system of belief.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, an adventurer of the name of Frank organized a sect out of the remains of the followers of Sabbathai; and gave to it the appellation of Zoharites, from a rabbinical work of ancient date called the Zohar, which he taught his followers to regard with great reverence. This new sect had some leanings to Christianity; it admitted the doc-



trines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, but did not explicitly state whether it considered Jesus Christ or Sabbathai Sevi as the Son of God. It rejected the Talmud, but strenuously maintained that a mystical sense pervaded the Scriptures. The head of the sect, Frank, lived in various parts of Germany in a style of the utmost magnificence; while the manner in which he obtained the riches, which he undoubtedly possessed, was kept a profound secret, that no one to this day has been able to penetrate. He afterwards embraced the Romish faith, and regularly attended mass with the utmost pomp. His partisans, who were numerous, believed him to be immortal; but in 1791 he died, and was buried with royal splendor, 800 persons following his corpse to the grave. The secret of his wealth seems to have been deposited with him in the tomb; for his family sunk into insignificance and destitution, and, to keep themselves from starving, were obliged to have recourse to the most menial labors. The Zoharites still exist, but are by no means in a flourishing state.

In the eighteenth century the head-quarters of the Jews might be said to be in Poland, for there they were most numerous. They devoted themselves to nearly every branch of trade, but showed a great aversion to be engaged in agriculture. Poland likewise was the chief seat of rabbinism, which possessed less influence over the minds of the Israelites in other parts of Europe. The peasantry of that country too were in a state of the grossest ignorance; and imperfect as we may consider the education which the Jews received, it at least sufficed to give them a great advantage over their uninstructed neighbors. Poland, in this century, gave birth to a re-



markable sect, which exists to the present day, that of the Chasidim, or Saints, as they call themselves. The founder of this sect was Rabbi Israel, who assumed the title of Baal Shem, "possessor of the name," that is, the mysterious name of Jehovah; which enabled him, he affirmed, to work miracles, and attain to the knowledge of all hidden wonders. He is represented by the orthodox rabbins as a man of small talents and scanty acquirements, who was impelled by ambition to become the leader of a schismatical party. On the other hand, he is declared by his partisans to have been remarkable for learning and piety from a very early age. He first began to collect followers in secret, but appeared more openly in Podolia about the year 1740. He seems to have been a man of an enthusiastic and visionary spirit, who imagined that the essence of piety consisted in an imbuing of the mind with the mysticism of the cabalistic system, which enabled man to attain to a more intimate union with God. This was the end at which he aimed by study, and fasting, and prayer. It is not very distinctly ascertained whether he himself claimed the possession of supernatural powers; but it seems most probable that he conceived his intimate knowledge of the Cabala enabled him to hold intercourse with the angels and disembodied spirits. His fame soon spread abroad, and a great number of the Jews in Poland, Russia and Hungary, became his disciples, in spite of the utmost exertions of the rabbins, who in vain denounced Rabbi Israel as a fanatical impostor. He was served with the most implicit obedience while he lived; and all the members of his sect formed but one body, subject to no rule but his. On his death in 1760, the progress of his

opinions was by no means arrested; but the sect was divided into separate congregations, each having its own rabbin, or, as he was called, Tsaddik, *i. e.* righteous man. Of these the most distinguished were the grandchildren of Rabbi Israel. The Chasidim far surpassed the rest of the Jews in fasting and ablutions, and other external marks of Hebrew piety, and consequently they drew over to their opinions a great number of followers. They established a complete separation between themselves and the main body of the Israelites, though their doctrines did not differ remarkably. They pay less reverence to the Talmud than the other rabbinical Jews, but no class of the adherents of Judaism show a greater veneration for their tsaddikim or teachers. They even believe that these men have the power of working miracles by making use of the Cabala. One of their chief means of religious improvement is the spending the Sabbath in the company of the Tsaddik, who delivers to them an extemporaneous discourse, half moral, half mystical; which is listened to with the most profound attention and respect, and is regarded almost as the dictate of inspiration itself. On these occasions the rich Jews bring presents with them, and provisions, of which they allow their poorer brethren to partake. The Tsaddik makes periodical journeys to visit those, who are too far distant from his residence to attend his Sabbath discourses; and is everywhere received with the utmost veneration, as one privileged to enjoy intimate intercourse with the Almighty. He imposes penances on the guilty; dispenses amulets, on which cabalistic sentences are written, regarded as infallible preservatives against sickness, or the attacks of evil spirits; and bestows his

benediction, which is considered a high honor and a great advantage. Dr. M'Caul, in his lately published "Sketches of Judaism and the Jews," has given the following account of one of the Tsaddikim of the present day:—"I once saw one of the most famous of the Tsaddikim, the Tsaddik of Medziboze, or Mezbesch, during one of his periodical visits to a large congregation in Russian Poland. His antechamber was crowded with Jews and Jewesses, anxiously waiting for admission. The Tsaddik himself was seated in an inner chamber on an arm-chair. He wore a long robe something like a cassock, of sky-blue silk, with a white girdle and cap. He was a fine-looking, portly old man, with a long white beard. His attendants all around him, were attired in the usual costume of the Polish Jews, excepting the cap, which was not black velvet, but white cotton. His conversation was that of a shrewd sensible man; and with us he certainly showed nothing of the mystic or fanatic. The Jews said at his departure, that his receipts in this town alone were 2000 silver rubles, or about £330." The Chasidim have now fallen from the prosperity which they once enjoyed. Within the last few years they have lost several of their greatest rabbins, and no new generation of doctors seems rising up to supply the place of the deceased. The power which their Tsaddikim exercised over them attracted the attention and excited the displeasure of the Russian government, which in some measure repressed it by statute.

In Prussia, the Jews were exposed to persecution by the celebrated Frederick II. This prince, who boasted of his emancipation from all bigotry and intolerance, displayed a spirit worthy of the worst period of the middle

ages. In 1750, he issued an edict for the regulation of the Hebrews in his dominions. This decree limited the number of Israelites who were allowed to reside within the kingdom, and divided them into those who possessed an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the crown. The former descended to one child, the latter was confined to the person in whose favor it was originally issued. Foreign Jews were forbidden to settle in Prussia, and exceptions to this rule could only be purchased at an exorbitant rate. If widows married foreign Jews, they were required to leave the kingdom. Those who were allowed to reside in the Prussian dominions, were subjected to grievous burdens. They paid, in addition to all the ordinary taxes, for their patent of protection, for marriage, and upon the election of an elder in their communities. But the meanest part of the edict was the following :—Frederick had a manufactory of porcelain, on which he set a high value, and which he wished to encourage by every means in his power. He therefore ordered, that every Jew, on the marriage of a son, should purchase porcelain to the amount of 300 rix-dollars, for foreign exportation. The Israelites were, in addition to the heavy burdens thus imposed upon them, excluded from all civil functions, and forbidden to practise some of the most lucrative branches of trade.

In England the Jews were tolerated, but by no means regarded with favor. In the reign of Queen Anne, an act of parliament was made for the purpose of facilitating conversions among them. It empowered the Lord Chancellor to enforce, from the father of a convert to Christianity, a fair and adequate maintenance. Nearly about the same time, Toland the freethinker attempted to rouse

the national feeling to regard the Jews with greater favor, and confer more privileges upon them. But his infidel principles blasted the success of his endeavors. In 1753, a bill was brought forward under the auspices of government, which provided for the naturalization of all Jews who had been resident three years in the kingdom, without being absent more than three months at a time. It excluded them from civil offices, but in every other respect conferred upon them the privileges of British subjects. The bill passed both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent. But although it thus became a law it was exposed to the fiercest opposition on the part of the people. The nation was roused into a most clamorous outcry against the authors and abettors of the obnoxious measure. Religious intolerance united with mercantile jealousy to obstruct the operation of an act, which was denounced by the former as hostile to the principles of the Gospel, and execrated by the latter as prejudicial to the interests of English traders. Even the pulpit was abused by various clergymen, and turned into an engine for anathematizing the act of the ministry. It was found necessary to repeal the obnoxious statute, in order to appease the wide-spread discontent.

In Germany, the most remarkable occurrence which marked the history of the Jews during the eighteenth century, was the career of Moses Mendelsohn. This extraordinary man was born at Dessau, in Anhalt, in 1729. He went to Berlin at an early age, and was at first employed by a rabbin there as a transcriber of manuscripts. By degrees his abilities and activity brought him into notice, and he gained the friendship of Lessing and various others of the German *literati*. He completely emanci-

pated himself from the unsocial spirit, which had so often kept the Jews at a distance from their Christian brethren, but he still remained outwardly a member of the synagogue. Lavater wrote to him, urging him to embrace the faith of the Gospel ; but Mendelsohn, in reply, calmly stated his reasons for continuing in the faith of his fathers. He distinguished himself by his opposition to rabbinism, and by his endeavors to awaken the German Jews to a love for science and literature. His efforts in both respects were attended with much success, especially among the younger members of the Jewish community. It is to be feared that Mendelsohn had imbibed the spirit of that infidelity, which so unhappily characterized the literary men with whom he was fond of associating ; and many of his youthful admirers renounced the superstitions of their fathers, only to plunge into the depths of skepticism. His principal works are the "Jerusalem," in which he asserts, that Judaism was, from the first, intended merely as a civil institution ; and the "Phaëdon," a dialogue on the immortality of the soul, of which the idea seems to have been taken from the work of Plato, bearing the same name. This latter treatise procured him the title of the Jewish Socrates. Mendelsohn died in 1785, at the age of fifty-six.

In the dominions of the emperor of Germany the Jews were in general tolerated, although they were occasionally subjected to annoyance, or even danger, from the superstition and fanaticism of the populace. Amidst the number of reforms (often precipitate and indigested) which Joseph II. sought to accomplish, one of the first was an amelioration of the condition of the Jews. He promulgated an edict of toleration, whereby he freed

them from the poll-tax, to which they had been subjected, from the necessity of wearing distinctions in dress, and living in separate parts of the various cities and towns throughout his dominions. He allowed them to practise every kind of trade, except that in gun-powder, and to attend fairs in cities and towns where they were not domiciliated. He sought by every means to prepare the way for a gradual but complete amalgamation of them with the other inhabitants of the empire. The better to effect this end, he enforced upon them the necessity of instituting primary schools for their youth. He laid his universities open to them, and gave them the privilege of taking degrees in philosophy, civil law, and medicine. He even assigned stipends at them to those students who should distinguish themselves most. Some years after, the Jews were made liable to military conscription; but, like all Austrian subjects who did not belong to the aristocracy, they were prevented from attaining any higher rank than that of non-commissioned officers.

But Germany, in this century, distinguished herself by an effort of a much nobler kind, than even the most wise and benevolent attempt to ameliorate the civil condition of the Jews. In the city of Halle in Saxony, the seat of a university, was established the Callenberg Institution, the first society formed for the purpose of sending the Gospel to the Jews. It originated in the piety and zeal of several of the German Protestant clergy, and was supported by the voluntary contributions obtained under their influence. As the clergy, however, became more and more infected with the baneful doctrines of rationalism, they grew careless about the propagation of a religion which they did not themselves believe; and



the Callenberg Institution, like many other similar societies, became more and more feeble in its efforts, for want of funds, until it finally was extinguished, about the period of the French revolution, having continued in existence about sixty years. Yet its labors were not altogether in vain. It sent forth a very interesting publication, the journal of its most active and distinguished missionary, Schultze; who travelled through Europe, Asia, and Egypt, earnestly laboring to bring the ancient people of God to a belief in that Messiah whom they had so long rejected. The exertions of so zealous and devoted a servant of the Lord would not be unblest by Him in whose cause he wrought. The Callenberg Institution likewise translated into Hebrew various portions of the New Testament, and circulated them among the Jews. Several copies of these books have been lately discovered among the Jews of Poland and Syria. It is not many years since a copy of the Gospel of St. Luke, translated and published by this society in 1738, was found at Bombay in the possession of an unconverted Israelite, who would not part with it, except for a complete Bible. The book, obtained under such interesting circumstances, was brought to England.

We may now turn our attention to France. Although the edict of Charles VI. had never been repealed, the Jews, who were settled in the provinces annexed since that time to the French kingdom, had not been required to go into exile. Thus, there were a considerable number in the territory of Avignon, formerly belonging to the pope; and in the state of Alsace, which was also a recent acquisition. But, though allowed to reside in these portions of the French dominions, they were, in



Alsace at least, by no means exempt from persecution. The Jews of this province in 1780 presented a petition to the king in council, complaining of the burdens to which they were subjected. They were obliged to pay for the royal patent of protection, which alone entitled them to reside within the territory of France ; but, in addition to this, they were required by the nobles to purchase the privilege of remaining in their domains. From this tax, imposed by the lord of the soil, no age, or sex, or rank was exempted ; and the privilege which it conferred did not descend even for one generation, but was renewed for each individual. Their commerce was likewise burdened with many restrictions ; and the clergy were very indefatigable in inveigling their children from them, and constraining them to submit to baptism. They wished that all renunciation of Judaism should be forbidden, unless the abjurer should have reached the age of twelve years at least. The appeal to the justice of Louis XVI. was not fruitless : the capitation-tax was abolished in 1784 ; and four years afterwards, a commission was appointed, at the head of which was placed the celebrated Malesherbes, to take into consideration all the laws relative to the Jews, and remodel them according to the principles of the strictest equity. The Abbé Gregoire obtained the prize for an essay on the best means of accomplishing the amelioration of the condition of the Jews, and his work was very generally and highly applauded. But the progress of the Revolution put an end to the schemes of Louis for the welfare of the Israelites. Their cause was espoused by some of the leaders of the revolutionary party, such as Mirabeau ; and their efforts were more successful than any, which the oppressed and in-

sulted monarch could have made in their behalf. The National Assembly, in 1790, admitted the Jews to equal rights with other citizens; but the measure was not passed without considerable opposition.

Among the coincidences between the actions of Cromwell and Bonaparte, it has been remarked, that both turned their attention to the condition of the Jews. But the Emperor of France had more in his power than the Protector of England; and his designs were not baffled, almost in their conception, by the jealousy and bigotry of those over whom he ruled. In 1806, he summoned a grand Sanhedrim of the Jews to meet at Paris. To this meeting deputies were summoned, not only from every part of France, but from the German and Italian districts which were adjacent to it. It is probable that Bonaparte, whose unrivalled success had made him confident that he could accomplish every thing, however difficult, which he undertook, conceived the possibility of bending the Jewish religion completely to his purposes. He could not but observe the value of directing to the furtherance of his designs the extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the world, which outstripped the speed of his own couriers; and the great command of the precious metals which they unquestionably possessed. The complete development of his plans was probably arrested by the reverses which his arms sustained, and which obliged him to direct his attention to matters of more pressing consequence. The first injunction which he gave to the Sanhedrim was to return answers to twelve questions which he put to them. As they were of considerable consequence, we shall enumerate them; and specify the replies which the deputies

gave, although it is believed that the latter cannot be regarded as embodying the opinions of the Jews with absolute authority. The questions were as follows:—1. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews? 2. Is divorce recognized by the Jewish law? 3. Can Jews intermarry with Christians? 4. Will the Jews regard the French people as strangers or as brethren? 5. In what relation, according to the Jewish law, would the Jews stand towards the French? 6. Do Jews born in France consider it their native land? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the country? 7. Who are the electors of the rabbins? 8. What legal powers do the rabbins possess? 9. Are the election and authority of the rabbins grounded on law, or merely on custom? 10. Are the Jews forbidden to engage in any business? 11. Is usury to their brethren prohibited by the law? 12. Is it lawful or unlawful to practise usury with strangers? The answers of the Sanhedrim were clear and straightforward, and may perhaps be regarded as expressing the sentiments of the more enlightened Jews: 1. Polygamy is unlawful, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms in 1030. 2. Divorce is permitted to the Jews; but in this respect they cheerfully acquiesce in the decisions of the civil law of the land in which they reside. 3. Intermarriages with Christians are not prohibited; but difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage. 4. The Jews of France recognise the French people as in the fullest sense their brethren. 5. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as that of the Jew to the Jew. The only distinction between them is their religion. 6. The Jews, even while subject to oppression, acknowledged France as their country; and they have

now much stronger motives to do so, by their recent admission to civil rights. 7. There is no definite or uniform rule for the election of the rabbins; it generally rests with the head of each family in the community. 8. The rabbins have no judicial power; the Sanhedrim is the only legal tribunal. As the Jews of France and Italy are subject to the equal laws of the land, they have no inducement to confer any jurisdiction upon their teachers. 9. The election and authority of the rabbins are regulated solely by usage. 10. The Jews are allowed to engage in every kind of business. The Talmud enjoins that every Israelite be taught some trade. 11, 12. The Mosaic law forbids unlawful interest; but this was a regulation intended for an agricultural people. The Talmud allows interest to be taken from brethren and strangers, but forbids usury.

A regular plan was formed by Napoleon for the organization of the Jews throughout the empire. Every two thousand Jews were to form a synagogue and a consistory; which was to be composed of one principal and two inferior rabbins, with three householders of the town where the consistory was held. The consistory elected twenty-five notables, above thirty years old, for their council; for this body all bankrupts and usurers were ineligible. The consistory was required to watch over the behavior of the rabbins. The general consistory of Paris was to be a supreme tribunal, having the power of appointing or deposing the rabbins; who were enjoined to make public the decrees of the Sanhedrim, to inculcate obedience to the laws, to urge their people to enter into the military service, and to pray in the synagogues for the welfare of the imperial family. In 1807, the San-

hedrim assembled with great pomp, and generally sanctioned the decrees made by the deputies the year before. The whole system of organization was confirmed by an imperial edict. The satisfaction which the Jews might naturally feel at the favorable disposition of the emperor, was in some degree damped by an ordinance, which he soon after issued, with especial regard to the Jews of the Rhenish provinces. It prohibited them from lending money to minors without the consent of their guardians; to wives without the knowledge of their husbands; or to soldiers without the sanction of their officers. It made void all bills for which "value received" could not be proved. It further obliged all Jews engaged in commerce to take out a patent, and all strangers to invest some property in land and agriculture. A report was made in 1808 of the number of Jews in the territories of France. They were estimated at 80,000. There were 1232 landed proprietors, without reckoning the owners of houses; 797 in the army, 2360 artisans, and 250 manufacturers. But even the despotic power of Napoleon could not amalgamate the Jews with his other subjects, or give them the principles and sentiments of Frenchmen. It has been remarked, that "the mass of the Israelites were by no means inclined to merge their hopes in the destinies of the empire,—exchange Zion for Montmartre, and Jerusalem for Paris." Even the most cautious and prudent measure must have failed of success; because the word of prophecy remaineth sure, that "the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." (Numbers, xxiii. 9.) But the despicable and impious flattery of some of the really infidel Jews, whom Napoleon had gained over, effectually

disgusted their conscientious brethren. On the 15th of August, the emperor's birthday, they blended the cipher of Napoleon and Josephine with the ineffable name of Jehovah; and elevated the imperial eagle above the representation of the Ark of the Covenant! No Jew who really adhered to the faith of his fathers, could for a moment tolerate such audacious adulation, which in effect placed the Creator and the creature on the same undistinguished level.

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## CHAPTER XII.

Present State of the Jews—Jews of Germany and France—Infidelity prevalent among them—Edicts of the Russian Government—Polish Jews—Caraites in the Crimea—In Lithuania—At Constantinople—Affecting Service of those at Jerusalem—Jews at Leghorn—Edict of Pope Leo XII.—Antipathy between the Greeks and Jews—Recent Decree of the Ottoman Porte in Favor of the Jews—Mehemet Ali—Persecution at Damascus—Attachment of the Jews to the Holy Land—Their recent Returning to it in considerable Numbers—Their Cities there—Singular Petition of the Polish Jews—Unfortunate Condition of the Jews in Persia—Jews in Yemen and Aden—The Beni-Israel—Their Customs and Rites—White and Black Jews of Cochin—Charter granted to the former by the Emperor of Malabar—Curious Version of the New Testament—Jews in Egypt—In the Barbary States—In Morocco—Singular Traditions—Jews in America.

ALTHOUGH the edicts of Napoleon respecting the Jews, from the pomp and publicity with which they were proclaimed, have chiefly attracted attention, other governments within the present century have by no means abstained from legislating in their behalf. The Emperor Francis I. of Austria continued the exertions of his predecessor Joseph II. to meliorate the condition

of the Jews. Various sovereigns of Germany, before the downfall of Napoleon, such as the Grand Duke of Baden, in 1809; the King of Prussia, in 1812; the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, in 1812; the King of Bavaria, in 1813, issued ordinances, admitting their Jewish subjects to civil rights; exempting them from oppressive imposts; and throwing open to them all trades and professions. The late King of Prussia especially distinguished himself by his efforts to meliorate the condition of the Jews; and they fully shared in all those wise and benevolent schemes, which well entitled this truly Christian monarch to the appellation of Father of his People. It is stated, that they showed themselves thoroughly sensible of his kindness, and strongly attached to his government. Several of them entered the army, and some of these fell in the Prussian ranks at Waterloo. From others of the German states also, many of the Jews joined the patriot armies, formed with enthusiastic zeal in 1813, to break the yoke of Napoleon, which galled their country so heavily; and the activity and courage which they displayed were unequivocally evinced by the medals and other decorations earned by them. It was, therefore, not without good reason that they might expect the abolition of all the vexatious or oppressive enactments, which had been made against them in more barbarous times. Accordingly, in 1815, when the overthrow of the tyrant had been completed, the Germanic Confederation, assembled at Vienna, declared as follows, in the sixteenth article:—"The diet will take into consideration in what way the civil melioration of the professors of the Jewish religion may best be effected; and, in particular, how the enjoyment of all civil rights, in return for the performance of all civil duties, may be



most effectually secured to them in the states of the Confederation. In the mean time, the professors of this faith shall continue to enjoy the rights already extended to them."

But, although various German governments had thus shown themselves friendly to the Jews, they were by no means regarded with favor by all classes of the community. In several of the great trading towns, such as Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and particularly Frankfort, there is even yet much jealousy shown towards them, on account of their spirit of commercial enterprise, which makes them dangerous rivals of their Christian neighbors. They were exposed to the dislike of the aristocracy from another reason. Many of the noble proprietors of the soil had been so impoverished by the impositions of the French, and other circumstances arising out of the disastrous condition of their country during the period of Napoleon's sway, that they were obliged to dispose of their estates, which frequently passed into the hands of Jews, the great holders of ready money. Men, whose pride equalled their poverty, could not witness with composure the castles and manors, which had descended to them through so many generations, thus becoming the property of persons without rank or title, and having no other distinction than that of great wealth. The feelings of the unfortunate aristocracy were to a great degree shared by other classes, who did not see old associations severed without a pang, and considered the new comers as impertinent upstarts and intruders. Besides this, some of the Jews had acquired riches by entering largely into the contracts made by the French emperor, for the prosecution of his military enterprises ;

which rendered them especially obnoxious to the German patriots, who so justly detested Napoleon for his tyranny. Nor were those who had thus amassed great wealth by various means, so free, as prudence might have taught them to be, from that ostentation, which has been often observed as the consequence of suddenly accumulated riches; and which is never practised without provoking the jealousy of the higher, and the envy and hatred of the lower ranks. All these causes combined to occasion riotous proceedings against them, which broke out in 1820, first at Meinigen, then at Wurtzburg, and extended to the Rhine. At Hamburgh, and even so far north as Copenhagen, serious disturbances soon followed; and it required the utmost vigilance of the governments of the north of Germany to prevent their bursting forth in various other places. But these disorderly proceedings were speedily checked by the strenuous exertions of the authorities, who honorably resolved that the nineteenth century should not be disgraced by a repetition of the scandalous and sanguinary tumults of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth.\* Nine years later, when the states of Wirtemberg were discussing a measure, which extended civil rights to the Jews, the populace of Stutgard surrounded the Hall of Assembly with savage outcries, "Down with the Jews, down with the friends of the Jews!" The states calmly maintained their dignity, continued their sitting and debate, and eventually passed the bill which was so obnoxious to the fanatical mob.

\* It is a curious fact, that the old cry of "Hep! hep!" which was used in the German massacres of the Jews, in the middle ages, was revived on the occasion of the riots noticed above. Hep is supposed to be a contraction of Hierosolyma Est Perdita — Jerusalem is destroyed.

Within the present century, the German Jews have greatly advanced in knowledge and intellectual cultivation. The impulse communicated by Mendelsohn to the minds of his countrymen has not yet subsided. Many of the Jews of Germany attend the Universities, and apply themselves with zeal and success to the attainment of an acquaintance with literature and science. Previously to the time of Mendelsohn, the German had been despised by the Israelites as an unholy language; it has now become the favorite study of the more liberal among them, who appreciate as eagerly and as skilfully as their Christian neighbors the noble works, which, during the last century, have immortalized the literature of their native land. But they have by no means confined their attention to one language, rich and various as that may be; they have extended their studies to the tongues of ancient and modern Europe, and the different departments of mental and physical science. Several of them have distinguished themselves in the career of authorship; and have proved to the world, that, where the Hebrew intellect has free scope to develope itself, it may worthily claim the attention and respect of every unprejudiced Christian. But, at the same time, it must not be concealed, that many of the Jews have emancipated themselves from the thralldom of rabbinical superstition, only to be bewildered in the not less dangerous mazes of rationalism and infidelity. It was hardly to be expected that, in a country, where so much of the science and literature of its most eminent men was and still is avowedly or secretly hostile to religion, that the educated Jews alone should be proof against the noxious influence of the contaminating atmosphere around them. Accord-

ingly, we find that many of them hardly take any pains to conceal their skeptical opinions; and they have established a kind of reformed worship, with views hostile to all revelation. As they possess newspapers and other periodicals at their disposal, they are by no means at a loss for methods of propagating their sentiments; and they have exchanged their once fondly-cherished hopes of a restoration to their native land, under the guidance of the Messiah, for a zealous participation in the various schemes of revolutionary change, which from time to time appear to perplex and alarm the sovereigns of Germany. The contagion of infidelity has extended from Germany into Poland, where many proselytes have been made among the dense Hebrew population. In France as might be expected, similar sentiments prevail; the external garb of Judaism, as well as that of popery, is worn by many, who in their hearts despise and hate all revealed religion whatsoever. Some have even gone so far as to throw aside the name of Jews, and assume the appellation of Frenchmen-Israelites, or adherents of Mosaism, *i. e.* the Mosaical religion: they profess to consider the emancipation from all civil disabilities, which followed the Revolution, as a sufficient realization of the expectations once held respecting the Messiah. These opinions are maintained in a journal which bears the imposing name of "The Regeneration, destined to the Improvement, moral and religious, of the Israeltish people;" and is conducted by some of the most able and learned Jews of Paris, Brussels, and Frankfort.

But, although skeptical principles have made considerable progress among the Israelites in various parts of Europe, Judaism may still boast of many most devoted

adherents. Even in Germany, there are multitudes of steady supporters of rabbinism ; but their chief strength is in Poland, where they are less exposed to disturbing influences. With reference more immediately to the German Jews, it has been lately said, " The rabbinites, notwithstanding the exclusiveness of their studies, must be considered as an educated people, perhaps more so than any other upon earth ; they can, almost universally, read the sacred language, and partially understand it ; the zeal of individuals, even the poorest, prompts them to undertake the office of teachers ; and so content are they with small remuneration, that nearly a dozen Melammeds might be maintained by the salary required for one English schoolmaster. Parents and relations will endure the greatest privations to save a sufficient sum for the education of their children ; and oftentimes, where the income of a single family is inadequate, five or six will make a common purse to provide the salary of a tutor."

The Russian government has, during the nineteenth century, frequently interfered with the condition of its Israelitish subjects. A ukase of the Emperor Alexander, in 1824, directed the speedy removal of all the Jews of Russian Poland, except such as should devote themselves to *solid mercantile business*, or to the practice of medicine. All the Jews were ordered to give up small trade, the management of distilleries, and similar employments, and to prepare for removal to a tract of territory in a mild climate, where they were to apply themselves to agriculture ; and, as an inducement to do so, it was promised that they should be free from all taxes for a limited period. Alexander appears to have become jealous of the dense population of Jews in Poland ; perhaps

imagining that in case of future disturbances, in a country by no means reconciled to the Russian yoke, they might prove formidable coadjutors to the insurgents. He therefore deemed it advisable to transport many of them to other parts of the empire, where the population was as yet but thinly scattered. About the same time, he decreed the abolition of the power of the rabbins, which was previously very great; and transferred their authority to the elders of the various communities. His reason for this proceeding was the accusations of malversation brought against the Jewish teachers. He likewise endeavored to establish a system of education for his Hebrew subjects, which, by its comprehensiveness and excellence, might supersede the plan of instruction previously pursued by the rabbins. . Some years ago, the Emperor Nicholas issued an edict, which was directed, partly against the rabbins who were to be immediately excluded by the police from any city or town which they might enter; and partly against the dealers in petty wares, who were forbidden to practise their trade in the Russian dominions. The higher classes of merchants, such as bill-brokers and contractors, were by this ukase obliged to have an express protection from government; artisans and handicraftsmen were encouraged, but subjected to vexatious police regulations, and obliged to become members of some guild or fraternity. A more recent ukase allows Jews employed by the Russian government to engage in commerce, and to keep shops.

Fourteen years ago, the condition of the Polish Jews was thus described by Dr. Henderson:—"Comparatively few of the Jews learn any trade, and most of the attempts which have been made to accustom them to agricultural

habits have proved abortive. Some of those who are in circumstances of affluence possess houses and other immoveable property; but the great mass of the people seemed destined to sit loose from every local tie, and are waiting, with anxious expectation, for the arrival of the period when, in pursuance of the Divine promise, they shall be restored to what they still consider *their own land*. Their attachment, indeed, to Palestine is unconquerable." More recently, a converted Jew, Mr. Herschell, has thus delineated their condition:—"They are driven from place to place, and not permitted to live in the same street where the so-called Christians reside! It not unfrequently happens, that when one or more wealthy Jews have built commodious houses in any part of a town, not hitherto prohibited, this affords a reason for proscribing them; it is immediately enacted that no Jew must live in that part of the city, and they are forthwith driven from their houses, without any compensation for their loss being given them. They are oppressed on every side, yet dare not complain; robbed and defrauded, yet obtain no redress; in the walk of social life, insult and contempt meet them at every turning." It can be no wonder, if, in such circumstances, even the richest Jews should studiously conceal every mark of wealth; and imitate the example of an Israelite, who, not many years ago, was found at Jerusalem leading a life of much luxury, in a house with a broken staircase, in a small obscure street.

In the Russian dominions exists two of the chief settlements of the Caraites or anti-rabbinical Jews. These occupy a mountain-rock in the Crimea, and the shores of a beautiful lake at Troki in Lithuania; the inhabit-



ants of the latter place stating themselves to be the descendants of a colony sent out 400 years ago from the Crimea. The Crimean Caraites, in a petition addressed by them to the Empress Catharine, affirmed that their ancestors had had no share in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ; and this assertion, which in other circumstances we might have conceived to have been made for the purpose of interesting in their favor a professedly Christian government, derives great weight from the irreproachable character which the Caraites everywhere enjoy. Dr. Clarke and other travellers have described in glowing terms the picturesque fortress, called Deschonfait Kale, or the Jews' Castle; the rocky narrow path by which the ascent winds up to it; and the beautiful detached sepulchral grove, which form remarkable features in the Crimean settlement. A tombstone in the burial-ground bears a Hebrew inscription dated about 600 years back. The Crimean Caraites amount in number to about 5000. Several of them are established as merchants at Odessa, and bear a very high character for honesty. The Lithuanian Caraites amounted, some years ago, to only about 160; like their brethren, they wear the dress of the country which they inhabit. Their reputation is deservedly very high; it is stated by a Christian writer, that during the long period of 400 years, not one of them has had a criminal sentence passed upon him. It is a remarkable circumstance, that they have retained the Tartar language; but they likewise speak Russian and Polish. Every Sabbath and feast day, their teachers deliver moral discourses to them. In these sermons the Tartar tongue is used; but their prayers are always made in Hebrew. Their manners are simple and oblig-

ing; and they listen to the arguments of Christian missionaries with patience and candor, never having recourse to the quibbles and sophisms which the Talmudical Jews too often make use of in controversy.

There are about 300 Caraites in Constantinople. Their synagogue is situated in a spot lower than any of the adjoining buildings. The reason of this is said to be, that they wish to adhere literally to the words of the Psalmist, "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee." (Psalm cxxx. 1.) The following account of them is given in a letter from the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, who visited them last year:—"They take off their shoes, and leave them at the door of the synagogue as they enter, and they seat themselves on the floor in the Eastern manner. They sit during the reading of the prayers, which is the first part of their service; then the law is brought out of the ark, at the sight of which they all rise for a few moments, and then resume their place on the floor. After reading the daily portion of Scripture, the rabbin proceeds to give a sort of discourse. We had an excellent opportunity of hearing it; for, on seeing us at the door, he sent for us, and placed us at the head of the room by his side. The passage he had that morning come to was in Deuteronomy, xxi. 10. He made two boys who were sitting before him read the words aloud, and then began his observations. The substance of his sermon was, that the direction given, verse 12th, to "shave the head and pare the nails," was intended to show, that no one ought to marry on the ground that the person was beautiful; and that, if any do so, then verse 15th shows, that ungodly mothers will rear up ungodly children; and then verse 18th may remind us, that it is no wonder that such

a man has trouble with his children: therefore, said he, in the way of application, "keep the heart with all diligence," and pointed out the responsibilities of parents and children. When his remarks were ended, they repeated a short prayer, and broke up. The rabbin invited us to his house. He told us that the Caraites have not any hatred towards Christians; and suffer far more virulent opposition from the other Jews than from any besides. We bought a copy of their Prayer-book; a Commentary on the Old Testament; a translation of the Pentateuch into Turkish, in the Hebrew character, word for word, exactly on the Hamiltonian system, done by the rabbin himself for the use of his people. They are a little infected with some of the superstitions of the other Jews, for we saw the *mezuza* on their door-posts; but they reject the phylacteries or *tephillen*; and they have a real *fringe of blue* on their garments.\* In the time of worship they did not appear much more reverent or devotional than their brethren."

Some years ago, the following affecting service was in use among the Caraites at Jerusalem. It is taken from Dr. Wolff's Journal. The rabbin and the people speak alternately:—

*Rabbin.* On account of the palace which is laid waste;

*People.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* On account of the temple which is destroyed;

*P.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* On account of her walls which are pulled down;

*P.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* On account of our majesty which is gone;

\* See Numbers, xv. 38, 39.

*P.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* On account of our great men who have been cast down;

*P.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* On account of our precious stones which are burned;

*P.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* On account of the priests who have stumbled;

*P.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* On account of our kings who have despised Him;

*P.* We sit lonely and weep.

*R.* We beseech thee to have mercy upon Zion;

*P.* Gather the children of Jerusalem.

*R.* Make haste, O Redeemer of Zion;

*P.* Speak to the heart of Jerusalem.

*R.* May beauty and majesty surround Zion;

*P.* And turn with mercy to Jerusalem.

*R.* Remember the shame of Zion;

*P.* Remember again the ruins of Jerusalem.

*R.* May the royal government shine over Zion;

*P.* Comfort those who mourn at Jerusalem.

*R.* May joy and gladness be found upon Zion;

*P.* A branch shall come forth at Jerusalem.

When Dr. Wolff visited the Caraites at Jerusalem in 1829, he found them reduced in number to an old man, some boys, and five women, whose husbands had fled from the persecution of the Turks to their brethren in the Crimea. All these persons lived in one house, and their synagogue was under the same roof. They showed the missionary an ancient manuscript copy of the Hebrew Bible.

There are about twenty Caraites resident at Hit, a place on the banks of the Euphrates, about two days' journey from Bagdad. They are all silversmiths, working trinkets and ornaments for the Arabs. This settlement is of ancient date.

We return to the present state of the main body of the Jews. They are still excluded from Spain by the continuance in force of the decree of Ferdinand and Isabella;\* but it is said that many of the descendants of the "new Christians" still practise Hebrew rites in secret. There are about 2000 Israelites resident at Gibraltar, under British protection. Many of their children attend Christian schools. The Jews were allowed to re-enter Portugal by an edict of John VI., who thus rewarded their services in introducing large cargoes of corn into the country during a period of scarcity.

In Tuscany, the condition of the Israelites is better, perhaps, than anywhere else; they possess great power and privileges. At Leghorn there are about 14,000 Jews. They have there a splendid synagogue; and in it, the place where the law is kept, and the reading-desk, are adorned with white and variegated marble. There is likewise a Jewish school, on the Lancasterian model, where 300 children are instructed in Hebrew, Italian, French, writing, and other branches of education; and a library, containing a collection of Hebrew books and manuscripts.

Some years ago, Pope Leo XII. passed severe regu-

\* A Jewish banker (M. Cohn, of Antwerp,) has been nominated Knight of the Spanish order of Isabella. *O tempora! O mores!* The country, in which a Jew, some scores of years back, could not set his foot without incurring the risk of being burnt alive, now decorates a Jew with an order!

lations against the Jews at Rome. He closely confined them, to the number of 1500 or 1800, within their quarter, called the *Ghetto*. They could not leave it without a special permission; and even when they had obtained such a license, they were prohibited from dwelling or even conversing familiarly with Christians. He ordered them to dismiss their Christian servants, females as well as males; not even excepting the former, who might be employed as nurses. All Christians were forbidden to enter Jewish houses for the purpose of lighting fires on Friday evenings, on Saturdays, or on any Hebrew festival whatever. The violators of this inquisitorial order were liable to severe penalties, to be inflicted "at the pleasure of the Supreme Holy Congregation." Such intolerance was worthy of the bigoted pontiff, who fulminated a bull against Bible Societies, characterizing them as impious associations, destructive to the souls of men!

Although, on various occasions, the descendants of Abraham have sought and found refuge in Mohammedan countries, from the persecutions inflicted upon them by those who professed the Christian faith, the Turks, until very lately, looked upon them as a degraded and inferior race; and showed their contempt of them by various species of insults. They delighted to observe the antipathy which subsisted between the Greeks and the Jews, two races of men upon whom the believer in the false prophet looked down with lofty and indiscriminate disdain. It almost seemed as if the Israelites in Turkey still cherished a rancorous remembrance of the persecuting edicts of Justinian; and sought, in every way, to wreak their vengeance upon the descendants of those

who, in former times, so relentlessly oppressed them. When, not many years ago, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople was put to death in the most barbarous manner, the Jews eagerly assisted in his murder and the maltreatment of his body.

Of late years, however, the two most powerful of the Mohammedan sovereigns, the late Grand Seignior and the Pasha of Egypt, have endeavored to obliterate, as far as possible, the barbarous customs and institutions, which, while they kept up the distinctive character of Islamism, excited the wonder and ridicule of Christian nations. In their schemes of amelioration the Jews have participated. A late ordinance of the Turkish court enacts, that Greeks, Catholics and Jews, are entitled to all benefits of the law, equally with Mohammedans. Upon this edict it has been thus remarked: "The state of things in the East is such, that the Divan could not altogether overlook the great mass of Turkish Jews; and by a Hatti Sheriff, intended to delineate the basis of the designed transformation and renovation of Oriental policy, and embracing in general terms all relations, the Jewish congregations were not only openly recognised, but the life, property and honor of the Israelites were placed under public jurisdiction; their military services accepted; and an equal share of taxation imposed upon them. Although the component elements of the East may be more or less able to follow out and realize these principles, yet, by this general equalization, a path was opened for true civil amelioration, unaccompanied by those pains and fears which were caused by hoping for the same in Europe."\* One of the most remarkable communities at

\* "Jewish Intelligence," quoted in Church of England Quarterly Review for July, 1840.



present existing among the Jews, is a body of several thousand followers of Sabbathai Sevi at Salonica, the ancient Thessalonica; who, however, outwardly conform to Mohammedanism, though they never intermarry with the professors of that religion. They are called *Domme*, i. e. turned, by the Turks, and *Mamenen*, i. e. polluted, or heretics, by the Jews.

The recent conquests of Mehemet Ali in Syria have excited considerable interest and anxiety, about the manner in which he would treat the Jewish inhabitants of the acquisitions to his dominions. When Dr. Duff was at Alexandria, on his way to India, in December, 1841, a variety of rumors upon this subject were afloat. Exceedingly desirous to ascertain the real state of the case, that zealous missionary obtained, through the kindness of her majesty's consul-general, Colonel Campbell, an interview with the Pasha, upon whom he waited in company with the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw, an Episcopal clergyman resident at Alexandria. In answer to various questions put to him through the medium of an interpreter, Mehemet Ali said, that he would give every facility to those Jews who might be solicitous to return to the Holy Land; that he would treat them exactly as Mohammedan subjects; and that he would allow them, if they chose, to rent or purchase land, so as to become cultivators or proprietors of the soil. Dr. Duff, however, adds, "Being himself, in a peculiar sense, the father and the child of expediency, it is impossible to say how far his verbal decisions are to be relied on. The expediency of to-day may prove the inexpediency of to-morrow."

Since this interview, there has been a most wicked and horrible persecution of the Jews at Damascus, which

has been occasioned by the prevalence among the lower classes there, of the absurd belief, that the Jews require Gentile blood for the celebration of their passover. According to the statement of Mr. G. W. Pieritz, missionary of the London Society to the Jews at Damascus, the facts are the following.

“Padre Tomaso was a monk of the Capuchin order, a native of Sardinia. He lived in Damascus since 1807, where he occasionally practised medicine. He used particularly to vaccinate children, both of the Jews and others, by which he amassed a tolerable sum of money. On account of his usefulness he was much regarded by the Jews of Damascus. He also had a servant, Ibrahim, a native Christian; but whom the Jews generally did not know, nor, in fact, that he had a servant at all. On the 5th of February, 1840, he left his convent, but did not return at night, nor make his appearance since. The 6th of February the French Consul examined his cell, where everything was found in proper order, and, amongst others, a sum of money, now said to have been 10,000 piastres, though another report says, that 150,000 piastres were found, and that some persons pocketed the remaining 140,000 piastres. The servant too, I should mention, was missing. February 7th (being a Friday) notice was given to H. E. Schereef Pasha, who immediately instituted inquiry, at the demand of the French Consul, as all the Latin priests enjoy French protection here. The inquiry instituted was of a double nature—1st, to ascertain where Padre Tomaso was seen last; and 2dly, certain redoubtable Shieks (a species of Mohammedan impostors, pretending to the power of divination), were called in to discover what had become of

him by their preternatural powers. They declared, that Tomaso and his servant were murdered by the Jews in their own quarter. And this was confirmed by the fact that Tomaso actually was in the Jewish quarter on the day of his disappearance; viz., at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon he was seen sticking up a notice of an auction, that was some time after to take place, at the door of a Jewish barbar's shop. I heard some persons say that he was seen in the Jewish quarter a second time, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day; but this does not seem to be true. This, however, does not signify. It was now taken for granted that the Jews murdered Padre Tomaso and his servant, in order to secure their blood for the feast of unleavened bread, which was near at hand. Farach Katash, an elderly Jew, living in the Christian street, then came forward and testified that he saw Tomaso so late as five o'clock in the evening of February the 5th, in his (Christian) street; but for this he was put in prison. Saturday, February 8th, a certain Mohammedan of notoriously bad character, called Mohammed Telli, who was for some time in prison for debt, having heard of what was going on, said, he knew all the bad characters amongst the Jews, and, if he were at liberty, he would soon discover the murderers. The French Consul hearing this, immediately procured his liberation, it is said, by paying his debt for him. At the suggestions of this man, who became afterwards so useful in the service of the French Consulate, as well as of other like characters, who, voluntarily, or paid, acted as spies from the commencement, and on the allegations of the above-mentioned Shiekhs, many arrests were made, all among the Jews.

“ Amongst the Jews only, investigations, searches, and imprisonments were incessantly carried on. They also disinterred several dead persons on the Jewish burial-ground, lately buried, to see whether the missing persons might not be amongst them, or if the dead had any marks of violence about them, which they might have received in the attempt of murdering the monk or his servant: for it must be observed, and for the future borne in mind, that the monk himself, although about sixty years old, was yet in full vigor, of a tall stature, and a hot temper, while his servant was notoriously robust, and more than of ordinary strength, as those testify who knew him. The poor Jews were, however, at last fixed upon as their murderers, who had no marks of violence at all about them. Sunday, February 9th, Salum, the barber, was also arrested like others; but, upon the entreaties of his wife, was the same day again set at liberty. This barber, a Jew, is about twenty years old, married about half a year, and supported himself partly by his trade and partly by the alms occasionally given him by the more affluent Jews. He is very ignorant, and of rather low character. He is the same mentioned before, to whose shop door Padre Tomaso had fixed the notice of auction on the day of his disappearance.

“ Schereef Pasha sends for the chief rabbi, Yacoob Anthabi, and two other subordinate rabbies, Khakhams Sh'lomoh Arari and Khalphou Atia, and declares to them, that if they do not discover the murderers within twenty-four hours, they should all three be beheaded, and sends them home again. They immediately repair to the synagogue, assemble together men, women, and children, and in the most solemn manner, blowing the

horn, etc.,\* pronounce the severest excommunication they can, against every Jew who should know anything of the murder of the monk or his servant, no matter by whom committed, and not come forward to give evidence. Upon this a young man, a Jew, Yitskhach Yavoh, comes to the rabbies, and declares that on the fifth of February, going after his trade as usual, of selling tumbaco, he saw Padre Tomaso and his servant at a certain spot, about half an hour's walk from the Jewish quarter, on the road to Palakhia, about half an hour before sun-set, and that he there had the following words with the servant of the monk. He said to him, "You have not bought any tumbaco of me for some time; buy some now." But the servant answered him, "I need none now, for I bought some to day." (This evidence is in perfect accordance with that of the first-mentioned Farach Katash, who is now in prison.) Yitskhach Yavoh is now sent to the French Consul, where he repeats what he deposed before the rabbies; and the French Consul sends him for trial to His Excellency Schereef Pasha. His Excellency becomes angry, and asks the unhappy man, "who dares to give evidence in favor of the Jews—who bribed you to give this false evidence?" The man vows that he says nothing but the truth; and, therefore, is laid down and flogged; and insisting on the truth of his declaration, the flogging continues, till he got upwards of 5000 lashes in succession. He is carried away lifeless, recovers for a while in the prison to which he was transported, but soon after **DIES!** The Jews had great difficulty in the ordinary purification of the

\* By the horn is meant the ram's horn which the Jews use on new year's day and on the day of atonement.

dead which they undertook with him, previous to his burial, as the flesh fell entirely off from his bones!

“In the meanwhile the barber is going through various examinations and cross examinations, but continues steadfast in one declaration, viz. :—that he did not at all see the monk put up the paper on his door; but stepping out of his shop, and seeing it up, asked some bystanders what paper it was, and who fixed it there? They answered him, it was a notice of an auction, put up just now by Padre Tomaso, who went further on. In the course of these examinations, the barber named six poor Jews, who had been in his shop during the day of the disappearance of the monk. Four of these, being in town, were immediately arrested, and imprisoned in the seraglio, and some of them subsequently tortured. The remaining two were in the surrounding villages, in their usual avocation, hawking about their humble stock of ware. After a day or two they return to Damascus, and are arrested and brought before the French Consul who threatens them with immediate death if they did not confess. They as well however as the four, persist in their simple tale of innocence, and are some time after liberated. They are yet in Damascus to tell their story. It is here to be observed, that these poor men, as well as the barber himself and several others of the poorer Jews, who are now at liberty again, were continually pressed and persuaded, by the faithful servant of the French Consulate, Mohammed Telli, to implicate others, especially the great, as the safest means of escaping those tortures with which he threatened them. He was heard to hold like language even in open court, to poor Jews, during the occasional short intervals of their severest tortures.

“On Wednesday, Feb. 12, the third of the barber’s confinement at the French Consul’s, notwithstanding all the threats, promises, and persuasions, and the evil suggestions of Mohammed Telli, to implicate the great, no clue having been obtained from the barber, he is, by the French consul, given over to the Pasha for torture. His Excellency after having in vain repeated to him the promises of reward, and free pardon for any guilty part he might himself have taken in the murders, provided he betrayed his accomplices, which promises the French consul had often pressed upon the poor man, ordered him first to be beaten in a most cruel manner; and this not availing, the brutal torture of a certain hellish machine is applied to him: this instrument has two screws, which are forced into the head, so that the eyes are pressed out of the sockets. The poor barber suffered this till his chin became quite white, while a convulsive trembling set every limb of his body in tremulous motion. He abides however in the assertion of entire ignorance as to the fate of the monk and his servant. He is now carried into the common prison, that abominable servant of cruelty, Mohammed ‘Telli, becoming his nurse, and, as was heard by some of the then prisoners who are now free, upbraiding him for his folly in not implicating the great. Friday, Feb. 14, the poor man is again brought forth, and under cruel threats commanded to confess. He cries and trembles in his already lacerated body, avowing his innocence as before, but in vain; he is the second time laid under the stick (rather curbage, as it is called), and the flogging continues for some time, till his excruciating pains not affording him relief by a timely death, as fared Yitskhach Yavoh, at last reduced him to



say something for his release. He now declares that on Wednesday evening, Feb. 5, he saw the monk in company with several of the wealthiest and most respectable Jews, in the Jewish-street, near the house of David (in Arabic, Dah-ood) Arari; but that he did not know whence they came, or whither they went. The following are the men he mentions:—Yoseph Arari, an aged man eighty years of age; and three brothers nephews of the same—Aaron, aged fifty-five; Yitskhach, aged fifty; and David Arari, about forty; Yoseph Leniado, aged fifty; Moshey Salonickly, aged fifty; and Moshey Abulafia, aged forty. The first five very weak and sickly persons; the two last middling; all of them merchants of great consideration and wealth. They all deny the barber's statement, and are prepared for torture.

“But as fears were entertained that they could not stand any tortures on account of their constitutional weakness, a more lenient measure was resorted to. They were lodged each of them in a separate cell, soldiers appointed to stand by them, and not allow them any other posture but standing upon their legs, without sleep, etc., for thirty-six hours. So says one of my documents, while another, furnished me by a different channel, which agrees with the former in every leading particular, three days and three nights. I did not think it necessary to ask for the explanation of this apparent contradiction, as I did with reference to other details; but as it will be seen that this inhuman treatment was repeated by and by, it is possible that the first trial was three days and three nights, and the second thirty-six hours. For this conjecture I have ample ground.

“After the last-mentioned examination of the seven

merchants the barber is brought forth again, has entire impunity promised him for any guilt of his own, on the condition of a satisfactory confession, while Mohammed Telli continues to force his advice upon him. The barber first insists on his last deposition, but when he sees preparations making for his torture he offers to confess. He now declares, that on the evening of February 5th, the servant of David Arari came to him ordering him to go to his master's house, in order to bleed him (D. Arari). When he came there he saw seven merchants, mentioned before, sitting round, and Father Tomaso lying bound in a corner. The seven then offered him twelve hundred piastres, if he would kill the monk. He refused, and went away. He was hardly gone, he afterwards added, when he was called back, and they promised him two hundred piastres to keep secret what he had seen. He went home, without yet knowing what became of the unhappy monk.

"After this deposition, the barber is led back to his cell, and the seven merchants again brought forth for examination, but singly. They all alike declare their innocence, and now it is resolved to subject them to torture. David Arari is the first, but as he received the twentieth stroke, he begins to foam at his mouth, and falls into all the dreadful convulsions of a patient in what is called "the falling sickness." They are then obliged to desist, nor was it expected that the rest would bear the brutal experiment better. Upon this the French Consul, expressing his doubts, feigned or real, whether the first torture had been faithfully administered, whether the soldiers might not have been seduced to allow his victims to take rest, sleep, etc., or else, it was concluded, they

would have confessed,—demanded a repetition of the same, and the seven merchants are again put on their legs which would now scarcely support them, himself, by his underlings, and, it is said, some time personally, inspecting the due performance of their penance.

“The second torturous confinement took place February 17th, and they arrest the same day sixty-three young children from four to eight years of age and put them in prison. These remain in prison twenty-eight days, being almost daily questioned and examined with threats and promises—asked whether they did not see their fathers, etc., kill Padre Tomaso, etc. The poor innocent children know of no guilt, and tell their little harmless tales. One of the dear little ones, however, is persuaded to answer a seductive question in the affirmative. He said his father killed the monk and then threw him into a certain pit in the court-yard of his schoolmaster.

“The last tortures that took place were on the body of Rabbi Yacob Anthabi, who was requested to give the Pasha a declaration in writing that the Jews require human blood. But the old man would rather die than give such a false declaration. This last case of torture took place after I had left Damascus. I was informed of it by letter while at Beyrout.

“The tortures employed were—first, flogging; secondly, soaking persons in large tanks of water in their clothes; thirdly, the head machine, by which the eyes are pressed out of their sockets; fourthly, tying up certain parts of the body, and ordering soldiers to twist them in such a manner that the poor sufferers grew almost mad from pain; fifthly, standing upright for three days without being allowed any other posture, nor even to lean

against the wall, and when they would fall down being aroused up by the bystanding sentinels with their bayonets; sixthly, being dragged about in a large court by their ears till the blood gushed out; seventhly, having thorns driven in between the nails and the flesh of their fingers and toes; eighthly, having fire set to their beards till their faces are singed; ninthly, having candles held under their noses so that the flame arises up into the nostrils. This last brutality was one night carried on with such pitiless perseverance that the wax dropped upon the poor sufferers' breasts. It was in the night and the Pasha being present could no longer endure the sight. He then went away but put no stop to it." Such is Romanism in the nineteenth century!

These cruel and disgraceful proceedings did not take place without attracting the attention of most of the governments of Europe, and enlisting the sympathies both of Jews and Christians, in behalf of their suffering brethren. Early in June, 1840, Sir R. Peel called the attention of the British Parliament to this subject, and requested some interference on the part of the government. Viscount Palmerston assured him, that this subject had, *some time previous*, come under consideration of Her Majesty's government, who had lost no time in taking steps of the nature of those which Sir R. Peel had proposed.

As early as the 27th of March, the elders of the Jewish congregation at Constantinople had despatched a letter to Messrs. Rothschild of London, in which they present a most affecting picture of the sufferings of their brethren at Rhodes and Damascus, state their own incapacity to afford any relief, owing to their being subject to a government not on friendly terms with the

Pasha of Egypt, and therefore entreat the interference of these benevolent and wealthy individuals, in behalf of their brethren in the East.

The subject instantly enlisted the feelings of the whole Jewish community in London. A circular was addressed to the heads of all the Jewish families in the city, and, on June 23, a meeting took place at the great synagogue in Duke's-place, at which were present, Baron Rothschild, his brother, and all the wealthy Jews in the metropolis. At this meeting, in which Sir Moses Montefiore presided, resolutions were passed to this effect.

That the meeting acknowledged, with the deepest gratitude, the prompt interference of the British government, in behalf of the Jews of the East; that they deem it important, that some gentleman of rank and talent, delegated by the Jews of London, do accompany Monsieur Cremieux, the delegate from the Jews of Paris, to co-operate with him; that Sir Moses Montefiore, from his high moral character, influence and zeal, is particularly fitted to be the representative of the British Jews for such purpose, at the court of the Pasha of Egypt. After whose appointment and acceptance, it was further resolved, that the meeting, impressed with the generosity, zeal and self-devotedness of Sir Moses Montefiore, in accepting their appointment, do tender him their grateful thanks in token of their admiration of his conduct.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Van Oven, Salomons, Raphael, Cohen and Montefiore. In the course of their eloquent remarks, the conduct of the French government was commented on with just severity. The wickedness of the accusation, and the cruelty of the trial were afterwards set in their true light. It

was then insisted on, that in this proceeding at Damascus, was staked the moral character, not only of a few individuals in an eastern city, but of the whole community of Jews throughout the world. That the whole body were accused of being accessory to the crime of murder and human sacrifices; that as they were held up to the civilized world, as assassins, and guilty of worse than pagan abominations, it was their duty to call on their rabbins throughout Europe, to give in their declarations, on oath, disowning these horrid practises. The subscriptions in behalf of their brethren made at this meeting, amounted to about thirty-five thousand dollars.

Though the calumny now circulated against the Jews, had been repeatedly brought forward from interested motives in former times, and been as often refuted; though it could have obtained credence amongst none but the most ignorant; still the chief rabbi of the communities of the Jews in Britain, and the presiding rabbi of the Bevis Marks congregation, thought it their duty, each to address a letter to Sir Moses Montefiore, in which they disown all knowledge of such a rite as that laid to the charge of the Jews, and also show the impossibility that such a ceremony should ever have had existence among them. Rev. S. Hirschell remarked in his letter, that he had been the spiritual guide to the great Jewish communities in Britain for forty years, and that he had previously filled a similar office in Germany; that for more than ten generations, his ancestors had held the highest clerical dignities amongst the Jews; that their instructions had been transmitted from father to son, till they had reached him; so that if any one, from the office he has held, the instructions he has re-

ceived, and the ancestors from whom he has descended, might be supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with the laws, precepts, customs, rites, ceremonies and observances of the Jews, he might with truth claim to be that man. He then takes the same awfully solemn oath, which rabbi Manasseh ben Israel took on the same accusation more than 200 years ago, invoking all the curses mentioned in Leviticus and Deuteronomy to come upon him, if he ever knew the existence of such a horrid rite amongst the Jews. Sir Moses Montefiore received a similar protestation of ignorance as to the existence of any such rite, from David Meldola, presiding rabbi of the Bevis Marks congregation in London, a gentleman, whose descent from a long line of ancestors who had held high ecclesiastical offices amongst his nation, made it impossible that he should be ignorant of any rite that should have had importance or even existence amongst the Jews.

A protest to the same effect was signed by large numbers of those in England, who had been converted from Judaism to Christianity. They solemnly declare, that they never knew, or directly or indirectly heard, of such a custom as the using of Christian blood in any ceremony; that they believe this charge, so often brought against them formerly, and now lately revived, to be a foul and satanic falsehood.

But the interest in behalf of the unhappy Jews of Damascus, was not confined to those of their own faith. A meeting of the merchants, bankers, etc., in London, took place early in July, in the Egyptian hall, Mansion-house, which was crowded to excess, for the purpose of taking the subject into consideration, and with a view of



adopting such resolutions as should express the feelings of deep sympathy, which were entertained by the citizens of London, in the sufferings of the persecuted Jews.

Resolutions were adopted, in which the meeting express their deep sympathy for the sufferers, and their earnest hope, that an immediate and impartial trial will take place, so as to disprove, in the face of the whole world, the atrocious calumnies invented and propagated by their persecutors, for the infliction of cruelties almost unknown in the previous history of mankind: That they deem it right publicly to express their abhorrence of the use which has been made of torture for the purpose of extorting confessions from the unhappy persons accused, and also their hope, that this relic of a barbarous age, will be from henceforth abolished: They also declare, that it is their earnest hope and prayer, that, through the dissemination of sound principles in every country, all men may be considered as alike entitled to protection and the benefit of just laws impartially administered. After testifying their gratification that many persons of distinguished rank and station, as well as the government of the country, had testified their willingness to uphold the cause of suffering humanity, they direct that a copy of their resolutions be transmitted to Her Majesty's government, and to the representatives of the different powers resident at the English Court, with a request, that they will transmit them to their respective governments.

Assurances were immediately received from the ambassadors of Hanover, Saxony, Portugal, United States, Spain, Turkey and Prussia, resident at the British Court, that copies of these resolutions should instantly be forwarded to their respective governments.

Early in October, the Lord Mayor of London received a communication from the Russian minister, relative to the proceedings in London on the subject of the persecution at Damascus. He was assured, that the Imperial government highly appreciated the principles set forth in those resolutions, and would exert its influence for the abolition of such revolting atrocities as those of which the city of Damascus had lately been the theatre.

The Jews of the United States did not fail to share in the sympathy and philanthropic effort of their brethren in Europe in behalf of the unhappy sufferers of Damascus. In August, 1840, a meeting of the Israelites was held in New York at the synagogue of the congregation Benai Yeshurun, in which resolutions were passed to this effect. The meeting most solemnly deny the charges so far as they affect the religion of the Jews: They express their horror at the cruelties practised upon their brethren at Rhodes and Damascus, and resolve that a letter shall be addressed to the president of the United States, requesting that he will direct the consul of the U. S. in the dominions of the Pasha of Egypt, to coöperate with the consuls or other agents accredited to the Pasha, in endeavoring to obtain a fair and impartial trial for their brethren in Damascus.

To the letter, which agreeable to these resolutions, had been addressed to the president of the United States, the secretary of state replied: That the subject had already engaged the attention of government and that a letter of instruction had been written to the American Consul at Alexandria. In this he is directed to employ, should the occasion arise, all those good offices and efforts, which are compatible with his official station, to

the end, that justice and humanity may be extended to those persecuted people, whose cry of distress had reached our shores.

Once, the unhappy Jews were called to suffer equal and greater oppression from every European government, in which they resided, and this continued from year to year; but now, a single act of cruelty calls forth the sympathies of all the civilized world, and every government is called upon to interpose its good offices in their behalf. This seems to augur, not merely in favor of the advancement of the principles of liberty and humanity, but also of God's returning care and love for his ancient church.

In August, 1840, Sir M. Montefiore waited on the Pasha of Egypt and solicited an answer to his request; and accordingly a firman was granted, by which he discharged all the Jewish prisoners unconditionally, and gave orders that all persons who had fled from their homes, might return and enjoy the protection of the authorities the same as any other inhabitants of Damascus. Early in September, the firman was received at Damascus, and all further proceedings against the Jews arrested.

Owing to the peculiar and unsettled state of affairs in the East, Sir M. Montefiore, in accomplishing his mission, was obliged to visit Constantinople. Here he obtained an interview with Redschiid Pasha, the minister of foreign affairs, to whom he urged his anxious wish to obtain the sultan's firman for the protection of the Jews in Syria, when that country should be restored to His Highness' government, and also that opportunity might be afforded, on the return of tranquility, to investigate the circumstances attending the disappearance of father

Thomas, when Damascus should be governed by a Pasha appointed by the Porte. To all these requests, this minister made no objection, and promised, if possible, to obtain for him an audience with the Sultan.

In this last he was successful, and Sir M. Montefiore was accompanied to the palace, by George Samuel, Esq. David Williams Wire and Dr. L. Loewe, where he addressed the Sultan as follows.

*Address of Sir M. Montefiore to the Sultan.*

“May it please your Imperial Majesty,

“In the name of my brethren, who have deputed me, I come to lay at the foot of your Imperial throne the grateful homage of their respect.

“England, my country, and other enlightened nations of the earth, heard the cries of the suffering and persecuted Jews at Damascus and at Rhodes, and they hastened to offer to the sufferers their sympathy and affection, but the Lord God, who ruleth over all, prevented the necessity of their aid at Rhodes, and inspired your Imperial Majesty with wisdom, justice, and the love of truth. Under your righteous direction the oppressor was laid low—the designs of the wicked made known, and the innocent delivered. I therefore crave permission to offer to your Imperial Majesty the profound gratitude of the hearts of our people; and to utter our prayers that the merciful God may bless your Imperial Majesty with length of days, with wisdom and honor and riches, and so direct all your actions that your name may be inscribed in golden characters forever, and the memory of your deeds smell as sweet as a garden of roses.

“In ancient times the Lord God brought our people out of Egypt, and for ages they dwelt in Palestine; to them were committed the lively oracles of God; and though now dispersed amongst the nations of the earth, they are numbered with the most peaceful and loyal subjects, and by their industry they have augmented the riches and prosperity of the countries in which they live.

“They look with love and veneration upon that land where their forefathers dwelt; they pray that all who live therein may enjoy the shadow of your sublime protection, and in peace be permitted to worship the God of their fathers. Their prayers ascend to Him whose wisdom is absolute, whose decrees are fixed and immutable, whom none can withstand; that he will make your enemies bite the dust, that they may vanish as the morning dew, and flee away as chaff before the wind; that your throne may endure forever, and that all who live under your sceptre may have peace, sitting under their own vines and under their own fig-trees, none daring or wishing to make them afraid.”

To which his Imperial Majesty was pleased to make the following most gracious reply:—

“I am perfectly satisfied with the communication made, and the sentiments expressed by the deputation.

“I have been affected by the events which have taken place at Damascus, but I have endeavored to offer some satisfaction to the Israelitish nation in giving orders that justice should be done in the affair at Rhodes.

“The Israelitish nation shall always have from me the same protection and enjoy the same advantages as all other subjects of my empire.

"I will grant to the deputation the firman they have asked.

"I know, gentlemen, how to appreciate the pure philanthropy that has led you to this capital."

This firman, after adverting to the fact that the innocence of the Jews at Rhodes had been fully established, and that the religious books of the Jews, after having been examined by learned and impartial men, far from *requiring*, had been found strongly to *prohibit* the use of human blood, decides, that the Jewish nation shall possess the same advantages, and enjoy the same privileges as are granted to other nations who submit to the authority of the Porte. That the Jews shall be protected, in all parts of the empire, in the free exercise of their religion, and in all that pertains to their safety and tranquility. Thus, the persecution at Damascus, has not only increased the privileges and security of the nation, but has turned the sympathies of every christian country towards this long oppressed and neglected people, and will doubtless issue in producing a general interest in their spiritual welfare throughout the christian world.

Of late years, there has been a very remarkable confluence of the Jews towards Palestine. They have never, in the course of their many and miserable wanderings, ceased to regard the Holy Land as pre-eminently theirs; wherever scattered, they have always looked to it as a country which, at some time or other, should be again restored to them. They have long considered it a very great privilege to close their days in Judea, and especially at Jerusalem; and many, at the extremity of life, have gone to lay their bones among those of their ancestors.

We have seen that the two illustrious Spanish rabbins, Aben Ezra and Maimonides, although they died, the one at Rhodes and the other in Egypt, gave orders in their last moments that they should be buried within the borders of the Holy Land. Old and young, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, alike share in this fond longing for a final resting-place in Palestine. In every part of the world, the heart of the true Israelite beats high at the mention of his much-loved and revered "Holy City;" and morning and evening he turns his face to it at the period of prayer. But ever since 1832, when Mehemet Ali took possession of Syria, there has been a remarkable flocking of the Jews to Palestine. The precise number of them at present in the Holy Land is estimated to amount to about 40,000. They reside chiefly at the four cities which they consider as holy, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Saphet. The last-mentioned was destroyed by an earthquake in January 1837, before which time 7000 Jews were resident there. It is again rising out of its ruins, and now contains about 2000 Israelite inhabitants. There is a Hebrew tradition that the Messiah will first appear in this place; which is situated on the summit of one of the mountains in the neighborhood of the Sea of Galilee, and is supposed to be the very town pointed out by our Lord, when, during his sermon on the Mount, he said, "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid." (Matt. v. 14.) In Jerusalem, which contains six synagogues, there are said to be about 10,000 Jews; in Hebron, 700 or 800; and in Tiberias, 1200. For the last two years the influx of Jews has been somewhat diminished, owing to the ravages of the plague, the increased price of provisions, the embarrassed finan-



ces of the Hebrew community, and the oppression of their rabbins.

The following animated description of the Jews at Jerusalem, from Wilde's Travels in Palestine, deserves notice, as the author states many important particulars concerning the present state of a great number of that wonderful nation who are now living as strangers in the home of their forefathers.

“ The Jews inhabit a particular portion of the southern part of the city, the Haret-el-Youd, between the foot of Zion and the enclosure of the mosque of Omar, and are not the least interesting of the objects presented to the traveller in the Holy City.

“ This extraordinary people, the favored of the Lord, the descendants of the patriarchs and prophets, and the aristocracy of the earth, are to be seen in Jerusalem to greater advantage, and under an aspect, and in a character totally different from that which they present in any other place on the face of the globe. In other countries the very name of Jew has associated with it cunning, deceit, usury, traffic, and often wealth. But here, in addition to the usual degradation and purchased suffering of a despised, stricken, outcast race, they bend under extreme poverty, and wear the aspect of a weeping and a mourning people; lamenting over their fallen greatness as a nation, and over the prostrate grandeur of their once proud city. Here the usurer is turned into the pilgrim, the merchant into the priest, and the inexorable creditor into the weeping suppliant. Without wealth, without traffic, they are supported solely by the voluntary contributions of their brethren throughout the world. I think I am warranted in stating, that the number of Jews now

in Jerusalem is greater than at any other period in modern times. The population of any eastern city is with great difficulty accurately ascertained, owing to the total absence of statistical or municipal tables, as well as to the immense floating population, hundreds arriving at night and passing out in the morning; besides, here the number of pilgrims varies daily. The entire *resident* population of the city is about 35,000; of which 10,000 are Jews, 10,000 Christians, 10,000 Mohammedans, and about 5,000 foreigners, or partial residents, including the garrison. As a rough guess would but little approximate to the truth, and as many contradictory accounts have been published of the number of Jews resident in Jerusalem, I have used every means of procuring correct information on this subject. The Latins, and the Jewish rabbies themselves, whom I severally consulted, both agreed in stating, that the number is greater now than at any other period in latter times of which they have any record, and that at the lowest calculation it amounted to the number I have stated. The period is not very distant when the Turkish law permitted no more than 300 Jews to reside within the walls.

A vast concourse of this people flocked to Jerusalem at the time that Syria was occupied by the Egyptians; and afterwards on the conquest of Algiers. Within these two or three years, however, the extreme scarcity of provisions has deterred others from going there, and the number has not been so great as heretofore. With all this accumulated misery, with all this insult and scorn heaped upon the Israelite here, more even than in any other country, why, it will be asked, does he not fly to other and happier lands? Why does he seek to rest un-

der the shadow of Jerusalem's walls ? Independently of that natural love of country which exists among this people, two objects bring the Jew to Jerusalem,—to study the Scriptures and the Talmud,—and then to die, and have his bones laid with his forefathers in the valley of Jehoshaphat, even as the bones of the Patriarchs were carried up out of Egypt. No matter what the station or the rank,—no matter what, or how far distant the country where the Jew resides, he still lives upon the hope that he will one day journey Zionward. No clime can change, no season quench, that patriotic ardor with which the Jew beholds Jerusalem, even through the vista of a long futurity. On his first approach to the city, while yet within a day's journey, he puts on his best apparel ; and when the first view of it bursts upon his sight, he rends his garments, falls down to weep and pray over the long-sought object of his pilgrimage, and with dust sprinkled on his head, he enters the city of his forefathers. No child ever returned home after long absence with more yearnings of affection ; no proud baron ever beheld his ancestral towers and lordly halls, when they had become another's, with greater sorrow than the poor Jew when he first beholds Jerusalem. This, at least, is patriotism.

“ After surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings ; still it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed, who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine, and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust. ‘ The air of the land of Israel,’ says one, ‘ makes a man wise ;’ another writes,

‘he who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life to come.’ ‘The great wise men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to *embrace its ruins*, and roll themselves in its dust.’ ‘The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel.’ He who is buried there is reconciled with God, as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan first come to life in the days of the Messiah.

“In Jerusalem alone, of any place upon the earth, is the Hebrew spoken as a conversational language; for, although the Scriptures are read, and the religious rites performed in Hebrew, in the various countries in which the Jews are scattered; yet they speak the language of the nations among whom they are located. And, as the last link of that chain which binds them to home and to happiness, they, like other oppressed nations, cling to it with rapturous delight. And it is the only door by which the Missionary there has access to the Jew; for they have themselves said to me, ‘We cannot resist the holy language.’

“Most of the Jews are learned, and many spend the principal part of their time in studying the Scriptures or the Talmud, while others are engaged in discussing the law, and disputing in the synagogues, or in weeping over Jerusalem. They are particularly courteous to strangers, and seem anxious to cultivate intercourse with Franks.

“But of all the phases under which the Jews can be seen, the most deeply interesting is that exhibited when they collect to weep over the stones of Jerusalem, that I have already described as belonging to the ancient city,

and situated in the western wall of the court of the temple.

“One day during my stay, the whole congregation met upon the anniversary of the great earthquake at Saphet, where so many of their brethren were destroyed. It was a touching sight, and one that years will not efface, to witness this mourning group, and hear them singing the Songs of David, in the full expressive language in which they were written, beneath Mount Zion, on which they were composed, and before those very walls, that in other times rang with the same swelling chorus. But not now are heard the joyous tones of old ; for here every note was are swollen with a sigh, or broken with a sob, the sighs of Judah’s mourning maidens, the sobs and smothered groans of the patriarchs of Israel. And that heart must indeed be sadly out of tune, whose chords would not vibrate to the thrilling strains of Hebrew song, when chanted by the sons and daughters of Abraham, in their native city.

“Much as they venerate the very stones that now form the walls of this enclosure, they dare not set foot within its precincts ; for the crescent of the Moslem is glittering from the minaret, and the blood red banner of Mahomet is waving over their heads.

“Were I asked, what was the object of the greatest interest that I had seen, and the scene that made the deepest impression upon me, during my sojourn in other lands, I would say, that it was a Jew mourning over the stones of Jerusalem. And what principle, what feeling is it, it may be asked, that can thus keep the Hebrew, through so many centuries, still yearning towards his native city, still looking forward to his restoration, and

the coming of the Messiah? Hope, hope is the principle that supports the Israelite through all his sufferings, with oppression for his inheritance, sorrow and sadness for his certain lot, the constant fear of trials, bodily pain, and mental anguish, years of disgrace, and a life of misery; without a country and without a home, scorned, robbed, insulted and reviled; the power of man, and even death itself cannot obliterate that feeling."

In Persia, the condition of the Jews is peculiarly hard; they are subject to continual extortion and persecution. A Jew said to Dr. Wolff, "I have travelled far; the Israelites are everywhere princes, in comparison with those in the land of Persia. Heavy is our captivity, heavy is our burthen, heavy is our slavery; anxiously we wait for redemption." The same missionary remarks, that a striking illustration of Deuteronomy xxviii. 28, "The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart," is to be found in the state of the Persian Jews; many of whom, especially at Ispahan and Shiraz, became *mad* from oppression, and *blind* from the privations which they endure. In the case of the same people is also fulfilled the curse denounced in the thirtieth verse of the same chapter, "Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her;" for the late king, Futteh Ali Shah, and his son, the Prince of Shiraz, were accustomed to send for the beautiful Jewesses in their neighborhood, whether married or unmarried, and take them into their harems.

In Yemen, the ancient Arabia Felix, there are about 200,000 Jews, who have eighteen synagogues in the chief town, Sana. Their houses are very neat, and their copies of the Law are beautifully written. Their brethren in

Bagdad, Bussora, and Bombay, correspond with them. Polygamy exists among this branch of the Hebrew family. They affirm that their ancestors never returned to Jerusalem after the burning of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar; assigning to Ezra as the reason why they declined his invitation, to go up with him, that they would not quit their habitations until the "Messiah should come." One of the rabbins of Yemen told Dr. Wolff that his brethren believed, that in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah the sufferings of the Messiah, before he should enter into his glory, were described.

But there is no place in Arabia more remarkable for its Hebrew population than Aden, which has lately been taken by the British troops. The majority of the inhabitants of this place are Jews. They are generally poor, being carpenters, stone-masons, and artisans of various trades. A few are silversmiths, but scarcely any are merchants. While it was in the possession of the native prince, some acted in the capacity of clerks or writers to him. The Israelites of this place are strict Talmudists, untainted by the skepticism so prevalent among the Jews of continental Europe. They have a synagogue, very regularly and devoutly attended; and three public schools, in which the children are taught to read Hebrew. Many are instructed at home; and it is believed, that almost all the Jewish children of the place either publicly or privately acquire the ability to read. Both the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the Hebrew community are regulated by the chief of the synagogue, and four elders, who act as his assessors. The Jews of Aden have many copies of the Law, and other portions of the Old Testament, and likewise portions of the Talmud, on



which they set a high value. They hold constant intercourse with their brethren in the interior. The burying grounds of the town cover several acres, and the majority of the inscriptions on the tombstones are in Hebrew characters.

There are a good many Jews at Bombay, and some of them are very rich. The late Mrs. Wilson, of the Scottish mission there, describes some whom she visited as "living in a style of Oriental magnificence, which we rarely see, even among the richest natives of India." But the most interesting part of the Hebrew population is the Beni-Israel, supposed by some to be the descendants of the ten tribes. The most recent and copious account of this remarkable people is given by the Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay, who has paid great attention to their condition. According to his statement, they are to be found, not merely on the island of Bombay, but in various adjoining districts of the continent of India. Their numbers are generally reckoned at 8,000, but Dr. W., from a census made under his own direction, estimates them to amount to 5,255. They have no historical documents; and their traditions, as might be anticipated, are very vague and unsatisfactory. They state that their ancestors came from a country to the northward, about 1600 years ago; and consisted of seven men and as many women, who were saved from a watery grave, upon the occasion of a shipwreck, which occurred near Chaul, about thirty miles to the southeast of Bombay. They dislike the name *Jews*;\* and, though they have

\* Dr. Wilson thinks that this tends to prove them the descendants of the ten tribes, and is a memorial of the antipathy between the rival kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

many Hebrew names among them, those of Judah, and Esther (the favorite *Jewish* female name) do not occur. Besides their Hebrew names, they have in general another, which has been adopted in deference to Hindoo custom. Some of their appellations of the latter description correspond with those of the Indian gods. The Hebrew names are given at the time of circumcision; and the Hindoo ones about a month after birth. The vernacular language of the Beni-Israel is Maratti or Mahratta; but a few of them are able to converse in Gujuratti and Hindoostani. Their houses do not differ from those of other natives of the same rank. They do not eat with persons belonging to other communities; but do not object to drink out of vessels belonging to Christians, Mohammedans, or Hindoos. Those resident in the Konkan generally occupy themselves in agriculture, or in manufacturing oil; from the latter employment they receive the name of *teli*, or oilmen. Those who live in Bombay, with the exception of a few shopkeepers, are artisans, particularly masons and carpenters; a few are blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and tailors. Shoemakers and barbers are unknown among them. In most of the regiments of native infantry in the Bombay Presidency, some of the Beni-Israel are to be found, and few of them retire from the service without attaining the rank of officers. There are not many of them who are in possession of much property. David "Capitan," their Mukadam, or headman in Bombay, is believed to be worth one or two lacs of rupees. Like the Parsees, they do not tolerate begging beyond their own community. The needy are relieved by private benevolence, or from the funds of the *Masjid*, or synagogue, which are

derived from fines and offerings. All questions relating to the religious discipline of this singular people, are decided in a meeting of the adult members of the community in each village, by their Mukadam, who has a kind of magisterial authority; and the Kazi, who has the direction of ecclesiastical matters, and conducts public worship. These two persons have generally the assistance of four *chogale*, or elders, in the superintendence which they maintain, and the sentences which they pronounce. In the administration of justice, they admonish witnesses to speak the truth, by their regard to the *Torah*, or law; but they rarely exact from them a formal oath.

The Beni-Israel all profess to worship Jehovah; but many of them, till lately, paid, and some even yet, pay secret adoration to the Hindoo deities, especially those of malevolent character. Christians will discern in them the fulfilment of the prophecy in Deuteronomy 28: 64,—“Thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone.” They have not in their synagogues manuscript copies of the law, like the Jews; but they acknowledge the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament. Yet it is only lately that they have become acquainted with all the names of the inspired Hebrew writers; nor was it without hesitation that they agreed to own as sacred the works of the latter prophets. The Pentateuch forms the standard of their religious law; but it is only partially regarded in practice. Parchments on which are inscribed passages of Scripture, are worn by them on various parts of their bodies.

Among this people circumcision is practised on the

eighth day as enjoined by the law of Moses; on this occasion the Kazi officiates, and pronounces the words, "Blessed be thou, O Jehovah, our God, the universal King, who sanctifies us by his commandments, and ordains to us concerning circumcision." He, at the same time, invokes Elijah, and the expected Messiah, using some superstitious rites. He receives for this ceremony a sum of money, which varies with the circumstances of the family; the highest payment is two rupees. The Beni-Israel generally marry as early in life as the Hindoos; and their nuptial ceremonies, which, in some degree, partake of a heathenish character, continue for five days, not seven, as among the ancient Hebrews.

Another very interesting Israelitish colony in India, is that of the Jews of Cochin. They are divided into two classes, the White and Black Jews. The former are the descendants of emigrants, who, as they assert, came into the country after the destruction of the Second Temple; though some have supposed that they came originally from Persia some centuries later, on the occasion of a persecution in that country. The latter are the offspring of some natives of Malabar, who voluntarily joined the refugees on their landing; and of slaves emancipated by the White Jews. An interesting account of this people has been published in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, a periodical printed at Bombay; it was drawn up by the Jews themselves. The following is an extract from it:—"After the destruction of the Second Temple, in the 3828th year of the creation, 3168th of tribulation, and 68th of the Christian era, about 10,000 Jews and Jewesses came to Malabar, and settled themselves at Cananganore, Paloor Mahdam, and Poolootto;

and three-fourths of this population remained at Cananganore, then called Mahodranapatna, and subsequently Chingly, under the government of Churum Perumal. In the 4139th year of the creation, 3479th of tribulation, and 379th of Christ, Cheruman Perumal, Eravy Verma, emperor of Malabar, granted to the Jews the honor and privileges which they were to exercise; and which grant was engraved on copperplate, called Chempeada, in Malayalim; and thereby appointed Joseph Rabbaan the head of the Jews." In the deed it is stated, that the sovereign of Malabar, while "weilding the sceptre of royalty in a hundred thousand places," granted to the Jews the privileges of using day-lamps; of wearing long apparel; of making use of palanquins, umbrellas, copper vessels, trumpets and drums, garlands for the person, and garlands to be suspended over their roads; and relinquished all taxes and rates for these, as well as for houses and synagogues.\*

The Malabar Jews resided in Cananganore until the arrival of the Portuguese in that quarter; but, as that nation inflicted great oppression upon them, they removed to Cochin in the year 1565 of the Christian era, and were hospitably received by the rajah of that place. He granted them permission to build their synagogue and houses next to his palace, in order to protect them better; but hither they were followed by the Portuguese, who again treated them with the utmost cruelty and injustice. The arrival of the Dutch, who took possession of Cochin in 1663, relieved them from their sufferings,

\* Dr. Buchanan obtained permission from the Cochin Jews to get a fac-simile of this deed executed on copper; which, together with a copy of the Hebrew translation of it, he deposited in the library of the University of Cambridge.

and since that time they have lived in peace. In the year 1686, they were visited by four Hebrew merchants from Amsterdam, named Moses Fereira de Paiwa, Isaac Argas, Isaac Mookat and Abraham Bat, who rejoiced to find them enjoying a state of prosperity, and agreed to live with them. They wrote an account of their reception to their brethren at Amsterdam, who sent out to them a supply of books of the Law and the Prophets, which were much wanted. Since that time, an intimate correspondence has been maintained between the Jews of Cochin and those of Holland. At Amsterdam a liturgy has been printed, expressly for the use of the Israelites of Malabar.

The White Jews have never intermarried with their black brethren, and look upon them as an inferior race. The latter have none of the Cohen or Levi family among them, but their rites and ceremonies in a great measure resemble those of the White Jews. The two bodies of Israelites inhabit the towns of Cochin, Anjecaïmal, Paroor, Chanotto and Mala. Their number has been greatly reduced by various causes, and is stated to amount now only to 1039. A short time ago, several of the White Jews at Cochin addressed a statement of their condition to a gentleman named Baber, of the Bombay Civil Service; in which they defend themselves from various charges made against them by a recent traveller, and, among other things, give the following account of their occupations:—"As for the industry of the Jews, they earn a livelihood as handicraftsmen, being in general, sawyers, fishermen, blacksmiths, bricklayers, tailors, bookbinders, and other artificers; of which number many, for want of employment at or about Cochin, travel

up the Malabar coast to Bombay, to get a subsistence ; three-fourths of the Black Jews are venders of household-necessaries."

When Dr. Buchanan, the author of "Christian Researches," visited this interesting people in 1806, he made investigations into the character of the Hebrew manuscripts which they possessed. He discovered, among other remarkable writings, a curious version of the New Testament, of which we shall give the account in his own words:—"I had heard that there were one or two translations of the Testament in their possession, but they were studiously kept out of my sight for a considerable time. At last, however, they were produced by individuals in a private manner. One of them is written in the small rabbinical or Jerusalem character ; the other in a large square letter. The history of the former is very interesting. The translator, a learned rabbi, conceived the design of making an accurate version of the New Testament, for the express purpose of confuting it. His style is copious and elegant, like that of a master in the language, and the translation is in general faithful. It does not indeed appear that he wished to pervert the meaning of a single sentence ; but, depending on his own abilities and renown as a scholar, he hoped to be able to controvert its doctrines, and to triumph over it by fair contest in the presence of the world. The translation is complete, and written with greater freedom and ease towards the end than at the beginning. How astonishing it is that an enemy should have done this ! That he should have persevered resolutely to the end of his work ; not always indeed *calmly*, for there is sometimes a note of execration on the Sacred Person, who is the subject of



it, as if to unburden his mind, and ease the conflict of his laboring soul. At the close of the gospels, as if afraid of the converting power of his own versions, he calls heaven to witness that 'he had undertaken the work with the professed design of opposing the *Epicureans*,' by which term he contemptuously designates the Christians." Dr. Buchanan states, that in almost every house he found Hebrew books, printed or manuscript, particularly among the White Jews.

In Egypt, the only places where Jews are found are the two principal cities, Alexandria and Cairo. At the former place there are about 1000 Israelites, of whom one-third are Europeans, who have gone thither for the purpose of trade. There are not many rich men among them; the wealthiest are the *sarafs* or money-changers. At Cairo there are about 5000 Jews, who have ten synagogues and five schools, in which the children are taught Arabic and Hebrew. The attendance at each school averages from 30 to 40; but, from the extreme poverty of the Jews, they are generally unable to provide their children with books, which greatly obstructs their progress. The Jewish quarter is very miserable and unhealthy; many of the streets are so narrow, that two persons could not walk abreast in them; and the atmosphere is filled with noisome odours of every description.

In the states of Barbary there are many Jews. They are a laborious class of people; but, in general, very poor. They can usually both speak and write the Hebrew language.

In the empire of Morocco, there are supposed to be about 300,000 Israelites. They are subject to much oppression, especially at the accession of every sovereign,

who, at that time, impose a new tribute upon them. Notwithstanding their ill usage, they have many synagogues and academies. There are said to be among them several thousand descendants of European Christians, who, after having been taken prisoners by the pirates of Sallee, and carried into the interior, embraced Judaism. The Jews of Morocco have a strange tradition, that Joab, the general of King David, came into their country; and they show a mark, said to have been left by his horse's foot. This story is only to be matched by that current among some of the more ignorant German Jews, that David himself came with his army as far as Mentz on the Rhine! In the whole of Africa it has been estimated that there are a million of Jews, forming about a fourth of the entire Hebrew population of the world.

In America there are comparatively few Israelites. Some years ago, their number was reckoned to be only 20,000.\* Their chief settlements in the United States are at New-York and Philadelphia; and among the Israelites there infidelity is said, by Dr. Wolff, greatly to abound. There are a good many Jews in Jamaica. Their number in Kingston alone is stated to be from 3000 to 5000.

\* The influx of Jews from Europe has been very great within a few years past. The number in the U. States cannot be less than 80,000; they have sixty-six synagogues. In New York City, the number is set down at 12,000; they have six synagogues. There are some interesting cases of conversion in New York. The Rev. Mr. Rudy has some interesting converts in his German Reformed Church.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Missions to the Jews—Societies for their Conversion in the Prussian Dominions—Great Success—Letter of Mr. Kuntze—Converted Jews Professors—Dr. Neander—Conversion of Dr. Capadose—A letter—Isaac Da Costa—Work of the former, entitled “Jehovah-Jesus”—Melancholy Story of Uriel Da Costa—London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews—The Duke of Kent—Dr. Marsh—Dying Letter of Mr. Sim-eon—Labors of the Society—Hebrew New Testament and Liturgy—Episcopal Jews’ Chapel in London—Schools in Posen—Mission and Church at Jerusalem—Jewish Clergymen—Dr. Wolff—Speech of the Bishop of Vermont—Speech of Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D. D. of Philadelphia—Church of Scotland—Deputation to Palestine—Letters—Report to General Assembly—Prospects—Concluding Remarks.

WE have now to give a sketch of the means, which have been lately adopted, to bring the ancient people of God to the faith of the Gospel. We have already stated, that a society was formed in Germany, during the last century, for the express purpose of the conversion of the Jews; and that this institution perished for want of funds about the time of the French Revolution. Throughout the period which elapsed between its formation and extinction, there was no effort of a similar kind made in any other Christian country. But, within the last fifty years, there has been a wonderful revival of religion in the Protestant churches; and a far more deep and pervading sense of their obligation to promote, by every means in their power, the extension of the Redeemer’s kingdom. Never has there been such general and wide-spread endeavors to advance the glory of God, by the salvation of the souls of men. That apathy in the cause of missions to the Heathen, which so long disgraced the Protestant churches, and called forth the strong and not unmerited

condemnation of the pious and amiable Fenelon, has now been, we trust for ever, renounced; and vigorous efforts have been made to diffuse the knowledge of the Christian religion among every Pagan nation of the globe. It was not to be expected that Christians would feel a great anxiety about the spiritual welfare of the Heathen, without, at the same time, beginning to take a deep interest in the condition of the Jews; who, though superior to idolaters in knowledge of the only true God, were equally ignorant with them of Jesus Christ, whom He has sent. "They forget," says the great and good Archbishop Leighton, "a main part of the church's glory, who pray not daily for the conversion of the Jews." Unquestionably, in all ages of the church, those who truly felt the power of the Gospel in their own hearts, and knew that, "the only name given under heaven, whereby we must be saved," was one at which the Hebrew scoffed with disdain, would, in their private supplications, often breathe a prayer similar to that which is contained in the following quaint but withal beautiful and devotional lines of George Herbert:

"Poor nation, whose sweet sap and juice  
Our scions have purloin'd, and left you dry:  
Whose streams we got by the apostle's sluice  
And use in baptism, while ye pine and die:  
Who, by not keeping once became a debtor,  
And now by keeping lose a better.

"O that my prayers! mine, alas!  
O that some angel might a trumpet sound,  
At which the church, falling upon her face,  
Should cry so loud, until the trump were drown'd,  
And by that cry of her dear Lord obtain  
That your sweet sap might come again."

But within the present century, pious men, in various countries of Europe, began to perceive that there was

need, not merely of devout and unremitted supplications at the throne of grace, but likewise of vigorous and active efforts to promote a cause so holy and evangelical, as that of the conversion of the Jews.

On the continent, societies for the conversion of the Jews have been formed at Basle, Frankfort on the Maine, Berlin, Posen, and Breslau. The last three places are in the dominions of his Prussian majesty. The late King of Prussia was, as is well known, distinguished as the kind and active promoter of every scheme for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his subjects; and he did not neglect the Israelitish inhabitants of his territories. He, with the other members of the royal family, contributed liberally to the funds of the societies established in his dominions. The labors of these institutions have been remarkably blessed by God to the furtherance of the great and glorious cause which they were designed to promote. Their success has been such as to account for the statement of the celebrated Dr. Tholuck of Halle; who has affirmed, that more proselytes from Judaism have been made within the last twenty years than since the first ages of the church.\* He bears ample testimony to the great effects which he has himself witnessed in Breslau, his native place. The city of Berlin alone is said to contain nearly a thousand resident converted Jews, many of whom are known to be decidedly pious. Rev. Mr. Kuntze, chaplain to the Orphan-House Church, has himself baptized considerably upwards of a hundred Israelites. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Steinkopff of London,

\* Dr. Tholuck does not take into account the conversions said to have happened in consequence of the preachings of Vincent Ferrier, probably because he is distrustful of the genuineness of those renunciations of Judaism.

dated June 1, 1839, after mentioning the increased revival of religion in the Prussian capital, and the augmented interest taken in missionary efforts, he thus continues : "The propagation of the Gospel of Christ among the ancient people of God makes still more rapid progress. No rabbinical opposition, however artfully contrived, can now stem the tide of Israel's conversion. They join the Christian church by tens and twenties, and I confidently anticipate their doing so soon by hundreds. I allow that some are actuated by impure motives,—even the strictest precaution cannot prevent the intrusion of some insincere and hypocritical professors ; yet I can state with perfect conviction, that many are under the influence of right and truly Christian principles, stand firm, and continue steadfast in the faith." This letter proves the Prussian clergy to be well aware that tares may mingle with the wheat.

Some of the converts in the Prussian dominions have been made by Roman Catholic priests ; but the vast majority have embraced the Protestant faith. Thus, in Silesia, during the two years 1835 and 1836, there were fifty-seven Israelites baptized ; of whom there were only three in the Romish communion. At Königsberg, in 1836, there were thirty-nine admitted into the visible church, of whom only one was baptized by a Popish priest.

A very interesting case of conversion occurred nearly twenty years ago. A missionary to the Jews had just left Berditchef, a town in Russian Poland, utterly despairing of making any salutary impression ; when two young rabbins abandoned all their prospects there, and travelled on foot upwards of twelve hundred miles to

Berlin, that they might become acquainted with the Gospel. The difficulties of the journey were great ; nor did their trials cease when they reached the Prussian capital. They had to learn the German language, and become acquainted with a trade, in order to provide for their subsistence ; but their zeal triumphed over every obstacle, and they obtained that knowledge of Christianity, which they valued above every worldly enjoyment. Rarely, in the present day, do we behold such sacrifices made for the sake of the Gospel.

Not only have great numbers of Jews in the Prussian dominions been convinced of the truth of Christianity ; some of the converts have been men of great abilities and acquirements ; so that the advocates of Judaism cannot affirm that proselytism has taken place only among those, whose ignorance rendered them an easy prey to any arguments, which possessed the slightest appearance of soundness. Several professors in the universities of Prussia have formerly been Israelites. Thus, in that of Breslau, converted Jews fill three professorships, those of philology, chemistry, and philosophy. In Halle, there are no fewer than five professors formerly Jews, one of medicine, one of mathematics, one of law, and two of philology. In other cities there are also men of the highest scientific and literary reputation, who have been converted from Judaism to Christianity ; and give sure and sufficient evidence of their sincerity by the piety and virtue of their lives. The best-known in this country is the celebrated Dr. Augustus Neander of Berlin, one of the pillars of evangelical religion in Prussia, and author of a History of the Church, and other valuable works. In him, the greatest talents, and the most profound learn-



ing, are united with the most devoted attachment to the pure truths of the Gospel, which he has ably upheld against the attacks of rationalism.

But no conversion upon the Continent has attracted greater attention, or called forth a deeper interest in its subject, than that of Dr. Capadose, a physician of Amsterdam ; who, along with his intimate friend, Isaac Da Costa, likewise a converted Jew, and a lawyer by profession, has been distinguished of late years by his zealous and indefatigable efforts in the defence of "the faith once delivered to the saints." Although Dr. Capadose does not possess the extraordinary talents and vast erudition, which have gained for Dr. Neander a European reputation, and entitled him to rank among the first scholars and divines of the day ; he is a man of considerable abilities and attainments, which have acquired for him distinction in the profession to which he has devoted himself. But the chief cause which has contributed to the deep impression, made by his conversion on the continent and in this country, is the very interesting account, which he has himself given, of the various circumstances which occasioned and attended it. Several editions have been published of this remarkable tract, which possesses much of that thrilling interest, excited by the Confessions of Augustine, and other records, by eminent Christians, of God's gracious dealings with their souls. No one on perusing it can fail to observe the hand of Divine Providence leading him on, often in a most mysterious way, to that full and firm faith and love, in which he now finds comfort and repose. A brief abstract of so remarkable a case may not be uninteresting or unacceptable to the reader.

M. Capadose was, like his friend Da Costa, an Israelite of Portuguese extraction; descended from the refugees, who sought shelter in Holland from the tyranny of their own sovereign. His parents were in respectable circumstances, and his uncle was one of the first physicians in Amsterdam. From an early age, he showed a very decided bias to the study of literature and science. His studious habits marked him out as one qualified for a learned profession, and accordingly, his parents destined him for the practice of medicine; hoping that he would, in due course of time, succeed to his uncle's very extensive business. In order to acquire the requisite knowledge, he was sent to the university of Leyden, along with his friend M. Da Costa, to whom he had been warmly attached from childhood. While at Leyden he attended the lectures of Professor Bilderdyk, whom he describes as "a man of extraordinary genius, a great poet, an excellent historian, a profound philosopher, and more than all that, a true disciple of Christ." The acknowledged talents and acquirements of this distinguished person, coupled with his excellent private character and amiable temper, disposed both Capadose and Da Costa to look with favor upon a religion which could boast of the attachment of such a man. At this period he became dissatisfied and disgusted with the services of the synagogue, which appeared to him to be performed with the utmost coldness and formality; and he especially disliked the use of the Hebrew language in the prayers, as it was an unknown tongue to three-fourths of those present. He now entered into a resolution with his friend Da Costa to practise the law most strictly, unseduced by the irreligious spirit of those around them;

and thus, to use his own words, "to force Christians into greater respect for the Jewish nation." But this determination, formed in a self-righteous spirit, and by persons who were, at the time, ignorant of the deep depravity of the human heart, which completely disqualifies it for keeping the commandments of God, was not of long continuance. They found that they had miscalculated their own strength; and relinquished a task, in which they would never have engaged, if they had been acquainted with the plague of their own hearts.

M. Capadose now completed his medical studies, took his degree, and returned to Amsterdam; where his uncle adopted him as his assistant and successor, having no children of his own. He was thus introduced to a large circle of the most wealthy and influential citizens, whom his uncle attended as a physician. His prospects were thus very bright, and he seemed to be destined to pursue the same successful career, which his uncle had run before him. But his own heart was not at rest. Occupied as he was by the cares and toils of a laborious profession, he had no leisure to disquiet himself with merely imaginary evils. But he felt the unsatisfactory nature of worldly things: he found that the alternations of business and amusement are not all that is requisite to give comfort and happiness to the human soul; and he experienced the truth of the expressive words of Augustine (which, occurring as they do near the beginning of the Confessions, form the key to the spiritual meaning of that admirable book), "Thou, O God, hast made us for thyself, and our hearts are restless, until they find repose in thee." Yet he, at this time, had by no means any deep sense of his own sinfulness; he merely felt

weary of life; and often, in the sleepless nights, occasioned by an oppression of the chest, to which he had been subject from childhood, he would exclaim, "Oh! were I but freed from the burden of existence!"

Happening one day to call upon his friend Da Costa, he found that he had just received a letter from Professor Bilderdyk, with whom he corresponded on literary subjects. Da Costa read to him the letter, together with some verses which were inclosed in it. Bilderdyk, in this poem, forcibly and feelingly described the glorious hopes of Israel, and concluded with the words,

"Friend, be a Christian, and content I die."

Capadose, at this, was filled with indignation, and concluded that the professor had laid a plan to seduce his friend from the Jewish faith. He expressed his suspicions to Da Costa, and immediately took leave of him. But the words of Bilderdyk sunk deep into his mind; he pondered them over and over again; and was surprised that a learned man, who had never, during the course of his residence at Leyden, spoken a syllable to him on the subject of religion, should now think of addressing his friend in the solemn manner mentioned above. His high opinion of Bilderdyk's honor and sincerity did not prevent him from conceiving that there was a secret plot to seduce Da Costa, and perhaps himself, from the Jewish religion.

But Dr. Capadose and his friend were both, from this time, impelled by the guidance of a hand which they then saw not, to study the Scriptures closely and diligently. The former now, for the first time, paid some attention to the New Testament; and, on perusing the

Gospel according to St. Matthew, was struck with the circumstance, that, from the very commencement, the evangelist appeared anxious, not to subvert the authority of the Law and the Prophets; but to show that they were the foundation upon which the Christian religion was built. He was accustomed to take frequent walks with Da Costa, and they discussed together the subjects, which had been suggested to them by the course of their Scriptural reading. After some time they resolved to prosecute their studies in conjunction; and therefore they spent a portion of every day in a private apartment in the house of Dr. Capadose's father; where, undisturbed and unsuspected by the family, they perused the Word of God with deep and daily increasing interest. They read no other book at the same time, except a treatise on the Evidences by Professor Heydeck, entitled, "A Defence of the Christian Faith." This learned man had been a German rabbi, and having been converted to Romanism, was made Professor of Oriental languages at Madrid. His work is in the form of letters, and M. Capadose says, "with much life and knowledge of the Scriptures, defends Christianity against skepticism." Even at this period, the two friends could perceive, that the powerful reasoning which appeared in those parts of Heydeck's book, where he rebuts the cavils of infidelity, altogether vanished when he undertook to combat the opposition made by Protestants to the principles of Popery.

During this very interesting period of serious and earnest investigation, M. Capadose, on one occasion, went into his uncle's library, and turned over a number of books, in hopes of finding some one which might be of

service in leading him to an acquaintance with Christianity. As was to be anticipated, he searched for a considerable time in vain; but, at last, came to a huge folio, containing the works of Justin Martyr. He was previously altogether unacquainted with the writings of that early ornament of the Greek Church; but the title "Martyr" arrested his attention, and led him to expect that the volume would be useful to him. He accordingly opened it, and the first article upon which he fixed his eyes, was the dialogue of Justin with Tryphon the Jew. He read it with eagerness and attention, and found that it contained a succinct exposition of the prophecies, relative to the Messiah, which was very useful to him. Thus, the discussion of the ancient philosopher and martyr, which had failed to convince his antagonist of his errors, now, seventeen hundred years later, proved, in the good providence of God, a means to direct an inquiring child of Abraham to the knowledge of the Gospel. The bread cast upon the water was found after many days.

One evening Dr. Capadose was reading the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, when suddenly the light flashed on his mind, and he clearly perceived that Jesus Christ was the promised Messiah. He had often perused that portion of God's word before, but now he read it with spiritual discernment, for the Holy Ghost enabled him to penetrate its meaning. The veil was now removed from his heart, and from that hour he was a Christian. Shortly after he was meditating upon that other remarkable passage in Isaiah, "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," when he was called down to see a Jewish physician, a friend of his uncle, who had called. This gentleman was turning over the leaves

of a new edition of the Bible. He showed his young friend the very text which he had been just considering, and said, "There is a fatal passage, which we cannot easily wrest from the Christians." Soon after Dr. Capadose's uncle appeared; and the physician, who knew him to be well versed in rabbinical learning, asked him what the most celebrated doctors said about the difficult text in question. "Alas!" said he, "only a heap of nonsense," and then changed the conversation. The young convert inwardly thanked God, for having thus given him a proof of the unsatisfactory nature of the defence made by the most distinguished advocates of the Jewish faith. The testimony of a Christian might have been suspected; but that of his uncle, a determined enemy to the Gospel, was unexceptionable.

M. Capadose was now placed in very trying circumstances, from the bigoted attachment of his family to Judaism. He dreaded to make the discovery of his conversion to those nearest and dearest to him, because he knew that their enmity to the Gospel was fixed and rooted. But the more he grew in grace, the more anxious he became to confess his Saviour before men; and the fear of offending God by silence, or man by speaking, at last so shook his constitution, never very strong, that he was advised by his uncle, who saw the effect, without suspecting the cause, to go into the country for some time to recruit his health. His mother, whose solicitude for his recovery was very great, accompanied him. He, on one occasion during their stay in the country, merely hinted his change of sentiments to his affectionate parent; but she immediately changed the subject of conversation, and took care that it should never again be in-



troduced. On her return she told M. Capadose's brother what had passed, and warned him to be on his guard against all attempts to shake his faith.

Dr. Capadose, after his return to Amsterdam, felt very painfully the difficulty of his situation. The repulse which he had met with from his mother, convinced him that the disclosure of his opinions would bitterly grieve and wound the hearts of his family. He was especially afflicted at the thought of the pain which he must occasion to his uncle, who had uniformly acted with the utmost kindness towards him, and regarded him as the support of his old age. He even feared for the life of his aged relative, which might be endangered by the shock of the disclosure. In these circumstances he betook himself to earnest and constant prayer; beseeching the Lord to smooth the way before him, and give him a favorable opportunity of avowing his conversion. One day his uncle, after dinner, read from the newspaper an account of the conversion of a rabbin of Hamburgh; and remarked, that if the proselyte acted from conviction, he deserved respect and not censure. M. Capadose seized the opportunity of expressing his delight at the tolerant sentiments of his uncle and added, that the case of the Hamburgh rabbin was precisely his own. At the same time he embraced the old man with the utmost affection, thinking that he had now nothing to apprehend from his opposition to the Gospel; but he was mistaken. His uncle was surprised at his unusual conduct, and thought him out of his senses. He left the room for a time, to allow his nephew leisure to recover himself, and when he returned spoke of something else. Perceiving that he did not attach to his words the importance which they

deserved, M. Capadose the next day told his uncle, in explicit terms, that he had become a convert to Christianity. A most heart-rending scene followed. The poor old man beat his breast, wished that he had never been born, and cried out, in the bitterness of his soul, that his nephew would bring down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. Next day he communicated what had passed to the parents of Dr. Capadose. It was agreed to treat the new convert with kindness for some time, in order to see whether he might not be induced by such a course of conduct to renounce the views which he had recently adopted. But his relatives soon perceived that this was hopeless; and they now, with the single exception of his brother treated him with the utmost coldness and contempt. By a firm but respectful remonstrance he checked the blasphemous invectives against his Divine Saviour, to which his unhappy uncle had on more than one occasion given way in his presence; but he never exhibited any traces of impatience under the trials, which he had daily to endure from those nearest and dearest to him. Grief, at what his mother considered the apostasy of her son, had thrown her into a dangerous illness; and this was a fresh source of affliction to M. Capadose's affectionate heart. His friend Da Costa had likewise embraced the faith of the Gospel; but the death of his parents some time previously freed him from any such domestic trials as those to which Dr. Capadose was exposed. Their conversion now attracted considerable attention among the Jews of Amsterdam; who grieved especially for the loss of Da Costa, as his great acquirements, and particularly his poetical powers, had previously reflected considerable lustre upon their community. A rabbin, highly

esteemed by his brethren for his virtue and learning, sought an interview with the two converts, and labored to bring them back to the Hebrew faith, but without the least effect.

Shortly after the two friends with the wife of Da Costa, who shared his convictions, left their native city, and repaired to Leyden, with which they had so many pleasing recollections associated. Their purpose in visiting that town was to be there admitted into the Christian Church by baptism, as M. Capadose felt some scruples of delicacy about openly professing his conversion in the city where his father and uncle resided. On the 20th of October, 1822, the three converts were publicly baptized, having solemnly renounced the errors of that creed in which they had been educated.

A few days after his baptism, Dr. Capadose received a letter from his uncle, informing him, that after what had passed he could not again allow him to dwell under his roof; but adding, that he by no means wished to debar him from coming to visit him, if he would abstain from mentioning the subject of religion in his conversation. Severe trials awaited him on his return to Amsterdam. His father's intellect began to be disturbed, and at length the family were obliged to have recourse to the very painful expedient of putting him into confinement. After some time he got gradually better and better, and hopes were entertained that he would soon be restored to the bosom of his family. Dr. Capadose saw him more than once; and found, to his unspeakable delight, that the hatred, which he had so long manifested towards him had been changed into affection; and that his previous resolute aversion to hear the subject of

Christianity mentioned had been succeeded by a willingness to listen to the truth. These were pleasing symptoms to the mind and heart of his affectionate son ; but, alas ! the hopes which he cherished were soon disappointed, for his father was seized with a sudden and violent illness ; and, when M. Capadose was next admitted into his chamber, he was insensible and in the agonies of death. The loss of his father was speedily followed by that of his uncle. In the midst of these sad bereavements, Dr. Capadose had derived much satisfaction from the anxiety manifested by his brother to be informed of the nature and spirit of the Gospel. He entertained strong hopes that this beloved relative would be brought to a saving knowledge of the true faith ; but these expectations seemed to be cruelly disappointed, when the object of them was seized with a fever, which threatened to prove speedily fatal. The sick man suffered much in body, but still more in mind ; for, although he discerned the errors of Judaism, and was speculatively convinced of the truth of Christianity, the tempter was busy with him, trying to persuade him that there was no hope of salvation for such a sinner. Dr. Capadose's mind was scarcely less agonized than that of his brother, and he wrestled earnestly in prayer for him with God. Nor were his petitions unanswered. His beloved kinsman grew worse and worse ; but one day, when he was in a state of great exhaustion, he seemed to be endowed with supernatural strength, and made a clear and loud confession of his trust in the Lord Jesus Christ as his Redeemer. At the same time he professed his belief in the Holy Trinity, and expressed his desire that his conversion should be made known to the synagogue. The

next day he departed from this world to join the society of the church above. Shortly after M. Capadose lost two aunts, one his father's and the other his mother's sister, and thus had to mourn at once for the deaths of five relations.

Dr. Capadose subsequently married, and had several children. He suffered very much from asthma, and was obliged to repair to Switzerland in the autumn of 1836, for the recovery of his health. There he staid some weeks under the roof of M. Petavel, a minister of the Swiss church, and professor of Belles Lettres at Neufchatel. This gentleman treated him with the utmost kindness; and persuaded him to draw up an account of his conversion, for the benefit of those who take an interest in the ancient people of God. He afterwards remained sometime at Clarens, near Vevay, on the Lake of Geneva; where he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who had for several years proved indeed a help meet for him. She departed in the faith of the Gospel, resting her hopes of salvation only upon the merits and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ. Her husband, though deeply afflicted by his bereavement, was privileged to partake of the consolations provided in the New Testament, for those who have truly believed in Christ. Amidst troubles of various kinds, he has written a work in defence of the Christian faith, with especial reference to one of its most cardinal articles, the Divine Nature of our Lord. Of this book, which is entitled "Jehovah-Jesus," M. Petavel thus speaks; "The Christian church abounds with works, which demonstrate the Divinity of the Son with equal learning and weight of argument; but in no other does the exposition of Scripture appear

to us so striking as that of M. Capadose. He shows how necessary for the soul is that fundamental truth; he presents it with force to the heart. One feels that the faith of this true Israelite is spirit and life, drawn from the very bowels of truth."\*

The following is a letter from Dr. Capadose to Dr. Robert Wodrow, Secretary to the General Assembly's Western Sub-Committee for the Conversion of the Jews, (Scotland), giving an account of the conversion of an Israelite.

*The Hague, January 11, 1841.*

Very dear Friend and Brother in Jesus Christ, our Saviour,—What an immense time has passed since your last letter, dated 26th August, 1840.

As to the Israelites, if I have not been able to succeed in forming a union of brethren, expressly to pray on behalf of Israel, and to take suitable measures in order to bring to them the good news of a free salvation in the precious blood of our adorable Saviour, the true Messiah; the God of Jacob has, nevertheless, bestowed on me a great blessing, which I will make known to you, requesting you to communicate it to the Committee for the Jews, who will find in it, perhaps, an encouragement, and a powerful motive to adore the faithfulness of our Saviour God. For more than a year a Jewish Portuguese physician, whose whole family I know, and who is of one of our first Jewish houses, visited me from time to time. I never let an opportunity escape to speak to him of the prophecies and their accomplishment. On that head he would never listen, and even sometimes at the beginning he was offended, and begged earnestly that I would not speak to him of it. But I did not cease to pray for him, and when he came back, I was as if compelled by the Spirit of God, or at least by a superior force, not to grant him his demand, but to preach to him the Gospel, and to press him by undeniable testimonies to give me his answers. At length, one evening that he was at my house with one of his relations, a young officer, also a Portuguese Jew, I experienced powerfully the Divine assistance, and these two young Israelites (being at most thirty years of age) remained with me till near eleven o'clock at night. I put to them at length, a question: I proposed to them a dilemma, from which it was difficult for them to get out. You believe, said I to them, that there is a God, and that this God is sovereignly just. Well, if such be the case, how comes it that this just God should have given his powerful blessing to an unjust and false cause, (supposing Christianity to be so,) and, on the

To a pious mind it is deeply interesting to contrast the blessed change which has been wrought by the Spirit

other hand, should have punished, for nearly 2,000 years, the just nation, the Israelites, who, in that case, would certainly have done their duty in rejecting a false Messiah. Now, one of the two, my friends, continued I, either you must say, that there is not a just God; or else you must acknowledge the true Messiah in Jesus Christ and the triumph of Christianity as that of the truth itself. A second dilemma which I proposed to them was this:—You admit that the offerings in Israel were the centre and principal point of the Israelitish religion. Now, how do you explain, that since the death of him whom you still call a false Messiah, the God of Israel should have permitted, that the Jews should not only be dispersed over the whole earth, but deprived of that which forms the essence of their religion—the offerings? This argument appeared to make a lively impression on the soul of the physician, and he changed color. Thereupon I gave him the excellent work of the Rev. Mr. Keith, “on the Evidence of Prophecy;” and the reading of this has also done him much good. At length, after some weeks he returned to my house, quite agitated, shedding a torrent of tears, and confessing to me that the Lord had opened his eyes, that his heart had been, during fifteen days, in an extreme struggle; that his sins had given him great anguish, but that now he saw in Jesus Christ the true Messiah, the Saviour of his soul! Oh, my dear brother, I cannot express to you what emotion seized my soul. I was all adoration, and in the silence of meditation at this solemn moment, we bent together our knees, to adore the depth and the immensity of the love of our adorable Saviour, who, as the good Shepherd, had come to find out this strayed sheep of the house of Judah. Glory, glory to this God Redeemer, who hears the prayers of his poor children, and still gives us to see, on this earth of tears, wonders of his love and of his infinite grace! Now, he aspires at present to confess publicly his Lord and his God, and will soon begin to prepare himself seriously for it. Every time that I see him, and he comes very often to my house, his faith becomes stronger; some objections which he had at the beginning, I have had the happiness to dissipate without difficulty; but it is the Spirit of the living God who instructs him—who enlightens him—and who already has enabled him to speak to his family and his friends with that intimate and cordial persuasion which God alone gives to the soul of his elect. His mother, who is a widow, has been greatly disturbed by it; but the hand of his God has powerfully supported our young brother, so that he joins much firmness with much filial love. He has, besides, a fortune which renders him independent, so that no one can even suspect him



of God upon the minds of D. Capadose and his friend Da Costa, with the dreadful fate of Uriel Da Costa, the granduncle of the latter. The family to which this unhappy man belonged, had been, like many others of their countrymen, compelled to embrace Romanism, and several of its members had filled high offices in the Portuguese church and state.

About a century ago, Uriel Da Costa was a canon of one of the cathedrals in Portugal. He was a person of an active and enterprising turn of mind, and might have raised himself very high in his profession. He learned, however, from his mother, that his ancestors had been obliged to abjure the Hebrew faith, in order to avoid banishment from their native land; and this information gave him a dislike to Romanism, and a predilection for the proscribed creed of Israel. He perused the Old Testament with care; and the result of his inquiries was, that he became convinced of the superiority of Judaism to that corrupted form of Christianity with which alone he was acquainted. It was impossible for him to profess his change of sentiments in a country where no dissent from the dominant religion was allowed; and he could not endure the thought of hypocritically joining in the services of a faith which he had internally renounced. He therefore, with his mother and brother, who shared his convictions, resolved to repair to Holland, where Judaism was tolerated, and its professors were in possession of wealth and estimation. Accordingly he went to Amsterdam; but there he did not find the peace and

to be influenced by any other motive than that of a conviction of the heart. Give thanks to the Mighty God, the God of Israel, and our God!

pleasure which he had flattered himself would be the consequences of his altered views. He soon discovered that ancient and modern Judaism differed widely from one another ; and perceived with surprise and sorrow, that a vast variety of traditions had usurped the reverence which he thought due to the law of Moses alone. He communicated his opinions upon this subject to the chief men of the synagogue ; who did not deign to argue with him, but, as a punishment for his heterodox views, inflicted on him forty stripes save one, according to the Jewish law. This ignominious treatment did not induce him to acquiesce, without further opposition, in the sentiments which prevailed among those around him. He continued his inquiries into religion ; and these, prosecuted, it is to be feared, in a spirit of rash and reckless speculation, conducted him at last to the dreary conclusion, that it is impossible for man to ascertain the truth in matters of faith. There may have been persons who could rest contented with such a state of skepticism, and do their utmost to enjoy the pleasures of the passing hour, deeming it folly to think of aught beyond it. But Uriel Da Costa was not one of these. He found himself so miserable in his condition of unbelief, that he committed suicide. Before he thus terminated his chequered life, he wrote an account of his fluctuations of opinion, and summed it up with these bitter words : " Reader, be not displeased with me ; I sought the truth, but found it not !" This melancholy narrative fell into the hands of his grandnephew ; in whose mind it contributed to excite an earnest desire to become acquainted with the evidences of the Christian faith. Thus, in the mysterious providence of God, the wretched skepticism of one man

was made a means of ultimately promoting the religious welfare of another.

While pious Christians on the continent have shown themselves anxious to bring the Jews to the faith of the Gospel, Great Britain has not been wanting to the good work. A "Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews" was instituted at London in 1809. At first it had to contend with great difficulties; and was exposed to much of that obloquy, which, some time ago, was cast upon Bible, Missionary, and other religious societies. One of its warmest friends was the late Duke of Kent, the father of her present majesty, and the patron of a variety of pious and beneficent schemes. Among its deceased friends were likewise the Rev. Legh Richmond, and the Rev. Charles Simeon of King's College, Cambridge.\* The latter eminent and excellent clergyman testified his interest in its welfare, by attending and speaking at all its annual meetings, except two, from 1813 to 1832. Increasing infirmities obliged him, about the latter period, to withdraw from encountering the fatigue of public meetings; but such was his zeal for the

\* One of the most distinguished living clergymen of the English church, the Rev. Dr. William Marsh of Birmingham, has, on many occasions, evinced his zeal for the conversion of the Jews. A few years ago, a Jew who had embraced Christianity, and was greatly persecuted in consequence, sought and found a home in the house of this excellent man. Not long after, four of Dr. Marsh's children successively sickened and died. This was regarded by some persons as a judgment from God upon the doctor for his affording shelter to one who had long denied and blasphemed our Lord. But one and all of the children declared on their deathbeds, that they had been brought to a saving interest in Christ by means of the converted Jew. Painful as the bereavement was, their pious father would, we doubt not, acknowledge the goodness of God in rewarding his kind treatment of a descendant of Abraham, by making that individual the instrument of spiritual blessings to those nearest and dearest to him.

cause of Israel, that he again appeared on the platform at Exeter Hall, in May 1835, and delivered a speech full of ardor and energy, although he was then in his seventy-sixth year.\*

\* His interest in Israel's welfare did not terminate there. When, about a year and a half afterwards, he was laid on his dying bed, he dictated the following address to the under graduates of Cambridge. So calm, collected, and vigorous was his mind, that he did not alter a single word in it when it was read over to him for correction :—" My dear young friends,—I have long wished to address you on this occasion ; and since I had no hopes of doing it by word of mouth, I have wished to do it through the medium of Mr. Spence (one of Mr. Simeon's curates); but the weakness that has come upon me, incapacitates me from doing it as I would desire. You will, however, excuse my infirmities.

" The thing which I wish to bring before you is this :—ought we, or ought we not, to resemble Almighty God in the things most near and dear to God himself? It has been the one object of my life to do so, and it is my dying prayer for you, that you may do so also. Now, I ask, what is at this very moment God's view of his ancient people, and his feeling towards them? ' I have delivered the dearly beloved of my soul into the hands of her enemies.' Jer. xii. 7.

" Are such God's feelings towards them even now? and ought not ours to resemble them? Have we no cause for shame, and sorrow, and contrition, that we have resembled him so little in past times? And has not every one of us cause for shame, and sorrow, and contrition, for his sad want of resemblance to God at this very hour?—yea, for his very contrariety to God in this respect?—Yes, have we not reason to blush and be confounded before God, when not even a desire for this resemblance has existed in our minds?

" Respecting them at this moment also, God says (Rom. xi. 28), ' They are beloved for the fathers' sakes ;' and have we no sense of shame that there is no correspondence of mind between God and us in that respect?

" But God says concerning them, ' I do not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine Holy Name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye went ; and I will sanctify my great name which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them ; and the heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes. For I will take you

Not long after its establishment, the Committee of the London Society resolved to procure a translation of the

from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land.' Ezek. xxvi. 22—24.

"Now, I ask, let the Jews be ever so insignificant, that we do nothing for *their* sakes, ought not the glory of God's Holy Name to be as dear to us as it is to Him? Are there no obligations lying upon us on this ground? Have we no cause for shame, and sorrow, and contrition, that these considerations have weighed so little in our minds? Surely, if we felt as we ought, the glory of God as connected with this subject should be dear to us, dearer than life itself. But who, in this view, does not stand self-condemned before God?

"But let us enter upon another part of the subject:—God's design and purpose towards them. (Jer. xxxii. 41.) 'Yea, I will rejoice over them to do them good, and will plant them in this land assuredly, with my whole heart and with my whole soul.'

"Now, I ask, is this God's state of mind towards them? What, then, should have been ours? But, alas! what are our own? What have they been in times past? What are they at the present moment? Tell me, are we not sadly unlike to God? And should it not be a matter of daily humiliation that we are so? Yea, should we not all rise at this moment as one man, with self-indignation against ourselves, that we are so utterly unlike to God, and so little ardent to resemble him, and to accomplish his will?

"Read what is said in Zeph. iii. 17—20. 'The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty; he will save, he will rejoice over thee with joy; he will rest in his love: he will joy over thee with singing. I will gather them that are sorrowful for the solemn assembly, who are of thee, to whom the reproach of it was a burden. Behold, at that time I will undo all that afflict thee; and I will save her that halteth, and her that was driven out; and I will get them praise and fame in every land where they have been put to shame. At that time will I bring you again, even in the time that I gather you; for I will make you a name and a praise among all people of the earth, when I turn back your captivity before your eyes, saith the Lord.'

"And, having read it, ask whether we should not rise to this mind? Can we hope for God's blessing on our own souls, when we have so little regard for the souls of his most dear people, and so little resemblance in ourselves to him respecting them?

"I say no more! May God speak to all of you with thunder and with love; and may my dying hour be a source of life to God's interest among you all, both in this place and throughout the world." Well might Mr. Cartwright, as minister of the Epis-

New Testament into the Hebrew tongue. In order to promote this desirable object, Dr. Buchanan presented to them a copy of the curious manuscript found in Malabar, which we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, and which has received the name of the "Travancore Testament." The version of the New Testament has been executed, and extensively circulated among the Jews; for whose benefit the Society has likewise published an edition of the Old Testament in Hebrew, which is eagerly sought after, and willingly purchased by the Jews on the continent of Europe and the northern coast of Africa. As the Society is composed of Episcopalians, it has caused the Liturgy of the English church to be translated into Hebrew. This version is regularly used at the Episcopal Jews' chapel, Bethnal Green, London, of which the Rev. James B. Cartwright is the minister. This gentleman is likewise secretary to the Society. According to the report for 1836, the baptismal register of this place of worship contains a list of 279 individuals of the Hebrew nation admitted into the visible church by baptism, 190 having been baptized in the chapel, and 89 before it was opened for divine service. Of the whole number, 96 were baptized as adults, and the rest as children.

This excellent Society\* has twenty-three stations in the Episcopal Jews' chapel, preach a funeral sermon for Mr. Simeon, and take as his text, Luke vii. 5, "He loveth our nation."

\* This Society held its 34th Anniversary at Exeter Hall on the 6th of May, 1842. His Grace the Arch Bishop of Canterbury is sole patron of this Society. The Arch Bishop of York the Bishop of London and nearly all the Bishops of the Bench are its Vice Patrons. The chair was filled by Sir Thomas Baring, Bart., the President of the Society. The meeting was addressed by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon, the Rt. Hon.

Europe, Asia and Africa, and maintains forty-nine missionaries and agents, of whom twenty-three are converts from Judaism. It has under its direction a Hebrew college in the metropolis, over which the Rev. Dr. M'Caul presides. The object of this institution is to train up two classes of missionaries,—one composed of learned converts, well versed in rabbinical lore, who are to be thoroughly instructed in Christianity; and the other of pious Christians wishing to become missionaries to the Jews, who are to be rendered familiar with Hebrew opinions and customs. From this excellent academy much benefit may be expected to arise.

The London Society supports seven schools in the dutchy of Posen, a part of the Prussian dominions, and an especially interesting district, from the number of Jews resident there. We insert the following account of the present state of these schools, given by the Rev. Mr. M'Cheyne, who visited them last year:—"In company with Mr. Bollsen (one of the Society's missionaries), we visited the Posen school. A few weeks ago, there were eighty children; now we found only twelve. This falling off, which I believe will be only for a short time, was produced by a happy cause,—the real conversion and baptism of two of the girls. We listened with delight to

Lord Ashley, the Rev. E. Bickersteth, the Rev. Hugh Stowell, the Rev. Dr. M'Caul, president of the Hebrew College, the Rev. Dr. Marsh, the Chevalier Bunsen, Envoy of the King of Prussia, the Rev. E. Tottenham, the Rev. Dr. Tyng of Philadelphia, whose speech we have inserted, the Rev. J. D'Arcy Siir, the Hon. and Rev. Henry Montague Villiers.

Whole amount contributed during the year 1841, \$119,548,38. Donation of the King of Prussia, 75,000,00. Bibles and other works issued from April 1, 1841, to March 31, 1842, 15,458, besides many thousands of tracts and copies of certain portions of Scripture have been distributed amongst the Jews.



their simple history.\* The master seemed a fine young man. He first played the violin, while the children sang sweetly some Christian hymns. They afterwards went over the history of the birth of Jesus.—We next visited the school in Storchnest, a large Prussian village about twelve hours' journey distant from Posen: thirty-eight children attend. We found them reading the history of Joseph in the German Bible. We heard them examined on the Bible history, on grammar, and on natural history; and lastly, they sang three Christian hymns. It quite reminded me of a well-conducted parish school in our own happy land."

The most interesting circumstance, connected with the proceedings of the London Society, is the establishment by it of a mission at Jerusalem. The Rev. Mr. Nicolayson was ordained some years ago by the Bishop of London (under whose episcopal jurisdiction he and the missionaries of the Society at Constantinople and Tunis are placed), and has ever since labored diligently and de-

\* Mr. M'Cheyne gives the following interesting account of one of these girls, whose name was Bertha:—"Her father was a very determined Jew; but her teacher believed that she had known the truth for four years. Last summer she left her father's house for G——, a town a great many German miles off, where the teacher lives by whom she was brought to a knowledge of the Saviour. She went in order to seek baptism. She was very happy on the road, singing the hymns she had learned at school, to lighten the fatigue of the journey. Her father, suspecting whither she had gone, pursued, overtook, and brought her back. And now her home was the daily scene of her persecution. She was not suffered to go to school, or to read her beloved Bible. Still she remained firm in her desire to be a Christian. The president took her into his house. The father prosecuted. The Court for Minors decided that she need not return to her father's house unless she pleased. She was accordingly baptized on the 9th of February 1839, by the name of Louisa. Her age was then sixteen years. She is now at Pinne, six miles from Posen, and works with her needle."

votedly in the holy city and its neighborhood. He has recently obtained an assistant, Mr. G. W. Pieritz, a convert from Judaism. Mr. Nicolayson conducts divine service according to the ritual of the English church, making use of the Hebrew version of the Liturgy. A considerable sum has been lately raised in England for the erection of a chapel on Mount Zion, and the building is probably now completed. Thus the Jews of Palestine will behold a Protestant church in their beloved city; and will be enabled to perceive, that all Christians do not practise the despicable mummeries of the Romish and Greek communions, which have so long contributed to make them view the Gospel with abhorrence, by leading them to associate the idea of it with superstition and idolatry. Mr. Nicolayson's efforts have not been without success. He has admitted thirteen converts into the visible church by baptism;\* and his preaching is attended by many of their brethren. His labors will be in some measures facilitated by the disposition of the Jews in Palestine to regard the English as their friends. It has been recently stated on the best authority,† that "the very name of an Englishman carries with it the idea of kindness, protection and sympathy to the ear of

\* When writing to the Society an account of the earliest of these baptisms (that of a Jewish family, consisting of four individuals), Mr. Nicolayson said that they were probably the first that had taken place in Jerusalem, since the early ages of the church. We cannot now expect the miraculous powers vouchsafed to the apostles, when they "preached in Christ's name, beginning at Jerusalem;" or the wonderful success of the exhortations delivered on the day of Pentecost, when "there were added" unto the church "about three thousand souls." But we may trust that the converts of the English mission will be, like their brethren of old, "of one heart and of one mind."

† That of the Deputation of the Church of Scotland.

the too-often insulted Jews." A British vice-consul, Mr. Young, has been lately stationed at Jerusalem; and has been instructed by government to extend, as far as lies in his power, his protection to the Jews.

There are at present eight converted Israelites who are clergymen of the English church. The most distinguished of these is the Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff,\* who, after having travelled as a missionary to the Jews eighteen years in all the four quarters of the globe, is now established in a quiet English parsonage, as incumbent of Linthwaite, near Huddersfield in Yorkshire. Another is the Rev. M. S. Alexander, Professor of Hebrew and rabbinical literature in King's College, London. A third is the Rev. H. S. Joseph, minister of St. Simon's, Liverpool, who has a regular weekly service in Hebrew, and had, some time ago, sixteen Jewish communicants in his congregation.

\* The following amusing portrait of this most remarkable man was, some years ago, given by his attached friend and fellow-traveller, the Rev. Lewis Way:—"A man who, at Rome, calls the Pope 'the dust of the earth,' and tells the Jews of Jerusalem that 'the Gemara is a lie;' who passes his days in disputation, and his nights in digging the Talmud; to whom a floor of brick is a feather-bed, and a box a bolster; who finds or makes a friend alike in the persecutor of his former or present faith; who can conciliate a Pasha, or confute a Patriarch; who travels without a guide, speaks without an interpreter, can live without food, and pay without money;—forgiving all the insults he meets with, and forgetting all the flattery he receives; who knows little of worldly conduct, and yet accommodates himself to all men, without giving offence to any; such a man (and such and more is Wolff) must excite no ordinary degree of attention in a country, and among a people, whose monotony of manners has remained undisturbed for centuries. \* \* By such an instrument, whom no school hath taught, whom no college could hold, is the way of the Judean wilderness preparing." Such is a striking (though somewhat hyperbolic) delineation of a man who, for laboriousness, may be classed with Wesley and Whitefield, and, for eccentricity, may be ranked with Berridge of Everton and Rowland Hill.

As a proof of the interest taken by our pious American brethren in the proceedings of the London Jewish Society and other British religious institutions, we shall insert the following remarks made by Right Rev. Dr. John H. Hopkins,\* the Bishop of Vermont, United States, at a late meeting of the above-mentioned institution:—"In the country to which I belong, the cause of the Jews has excited little or no interest;† there are few Jews in the United States. I heard there of some of the doings of this Society; and I could not but feel that no society was more deserving the efforts and sympathies of all denominations of Christians. On my arrival in London, my first step was to present myself at the Jewish chapel, where I found myself, for the first time in my life, in a congregation consisting of converted Israelites and believing Gentiles. At the Hebrew service I saw an Israelitish minister, taking on his lips the name of Jesus of Nazareth; reminding me, not inappropriately, of the day in which Israel went forth to preach the glad tidings. I should in vain attempt to describe to you my impressions of the solemn service of that day. The whole service in the afternoon was performed in Hebrew; and, with my imperfect knowledge of that language, I did what I could to unite in prayer and praise with the blessed and believing Jews. On the evening of the same day there was a Jew baptized; and I stood within a few feet of a converted sinner, over whom the angels of God were rejoic-

\* This gentleman is the author of a work against Popery, entitled, "The Church of Rome in her Primitive Purity, compared with the Church of Rome at the Present Day." A London edition of this book has been lately published, with an Introduction by the Rev. Henry Melville of Camberwell.

† There is, however, an American missionary to the Jews at Constantinople.

ing. My mind was naturally led to the contemplation of other countries, as contrasted with this; and I could not help thinking, looking to England's present condition and future history, that she had indeed a glorious destiny and a high reward assigned to her. There are in England—as there must be in every state composed of such vast and complicated interests, and of so many mixed and various elements—many difficulties, many distractions, and many causes for dissensions, which retard her Christian progress; yet, in the midst of all, I could not help saying, Happy England! happy England! the first country which, having joined in the glorious bonds of the Reformation, did not stop till she had made the throne stand on the basis of the Cross,—until she had stamped the Bible on the richest jewel of the crown! Happy England, which has found out how to unite the majesty of the sceptre with the liberty of the people! Happy England, first in the rank to abolish the trade in blood,—to break the fetters of the captive,—to let the oppressed go free! Happy England, which first found out the spirit of genuine toleration! Happy England, which first held out the right hand of fellowship to the misguided Jew, and first strove to give back the Oracles of God to his ancient people! And most heartily did I then unite, most heartily do I now, in those words, with regard to the glory, liberty and constitution of this country, Happy, happy England, ‘*esto perpetua!*’” The prosperity, which the excellent bishop so generally wishes may continue to England, will assuredly be best promoted by the maintenance and extension of her efforts in the Redeemer's cause. Never may she forget that “righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is the reproach of any people!”

At the anniversary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, in 1842, Rev. Dr. Tyng of Philadelphia, made the following remarks:—  
“As this may be my last act of public speaking in this country, I cannot allow it to pass by without bearing my humble testimony that love for the Jews and a desire for his conversion has travelled even to the people of my own native land. I cannot speak of persecutions of Israel there, for on the principles of our civil institutions, there is neither Jew nor Greek; the Israelite has always stood on the same ground of civil privilege as every other citizen of the land. But we have done nothing for their spiritual conversion to Christianity. There has been a veil upon our eyes as well as upon those of others, till very recently, when some ministers were led to see that God has designed to fulfil, in fact the promises recorded in inspiration. We have looked forward for some years for the literal restoration of the Jews, and in anticipation of the time when Israel shall hail him who took upon him the seed of Abraham, as King of Zion, upon the throne of David. My mind has been interested in this subject by a conviction which I have that Britain is the chosen instrument, in the hand of God, for the accomplishment of this great object. I am persuaded that the Holy Ghost, in the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah, has described this land as “the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled;” and also

that Britain is to bring back a present of that nation to the King of Saints, who dwelleth at Jerusalem. When I learned the grateful intelligence that Prussia and England had united to establish an Episcopate upon Mount Zion, I felt that it confirmed the view I had taken, and that it was a circumstance coincident with the prophecy of the Most High, it strengthened my conviction that literal interpretation is to be looked for of the prophecies of God; and we cannot help thinking that to that good man, under whom that work is now placed, is reserved one of the highest privileges ever given to man; that he may live to see those feet that shall be "beautiful upon the mountains, publishing peace, and bringing good tidings of good; that publisheth salvation: that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth;" that he may even live to welcome the return, in his glory, of that "man of sorrows," who lives to rule over this people, sealed with "his Father's name in their foreheads," as the first-fruits of the nations to him. But I will not pursue this subject, which, I confess, until within a few past years, has not sufficiently engaged my attention; I would rather confer with my brethren here, if I may gain a little of the oil and unction of the wisdom they possess, to render me better qualified, as a minister of God in my own land, to advance this cause. We are but few there who think on this subject, but our Church have commenced; at our last Convention; a Resolution was passed to inquire into the duty and possibility of our Church entering upon a mission to the Jews. It was a glorious token to those few of us who had been sitting in the valleys of prophecy and silence, thinking over the sorrow of Israel. There is a movement there among the Jews; one cler-



gyman has been engaged in delivering lectures on this subject. I know not that another has yet been so employed. Among the attendants on those lectures have been found many wandering Jews who are unconverted still, but who are coming to mingle with our people, to inquire what is the mind of God, according to the views of Christians, in reference to the destinies of Israel. We have as yet no organization, but while it has been so beautifully said that "the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift," I desire this day to come as the grandchild of Tyre, with a little gift to lay on the table of this Society,—a little Association among the people to whom I minister daily, have contributed 20*l.*, and this sum, until we have a direct organization to accomplish the purpose, shall be considered annually auxiliary to your funds. If by any influence and means we are permitted to increase it, the grandchild will imitate the daughter. Alas! we can never equal her. Perhaps we shall be able to do something towards making the outward garments of the daughter of Zion all glorious, and bringing her before the King, to the honor of his name, while we mutually and unitedly give thanks for the privilege we enjoy in seeking together, according to our measure, the glory of God in the salvation of his chosen people Israel."

While the members of the English church have been vigorously exerting themselves in the cause of God's ancient people, those of the Scottish Establishment have not been idle. The General Assembly, in 1838, appointed a "Committee for Promoting Christianity among the Jews," of which the Rev. Dr. Macgill of Glasgow is the convener. The Rev. Mr. Candlish of St. George's is the convener of the acting sub-committee in Edinburgh.

In March 1839, the committee came to the resolution of sending a deputation to Palestine, to inquire into the state of the Jews there. This deputation consisted of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Black, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen; the Rev. Dr. Keith, minister of St. Cyrus (author of various well-known works); the Rev. R. M. M'Cheyne of St. Peter's, Dundee; and the Rev. A. A. Bonar of Collace. These gentlemen sailed from London on the 4th of April 1839, having been amply supplied with letters of introduction to various ambassadors, consuls, merchants, and other persons who were likely to promote the objects of the deputation. They made known their progress from time to time in a series of most interesting letters,\* chiefly addressed to Mr. Candlish, as convener of the Edinburgh sub-committee.

The deputation had a token for good to them at their very outset, in the visit which they received on the first evening which they spent in France, from a Jewish gentleman, who had heard of their mission to the land of his ancestors. He conversed with them some hours, and accepted a Hebrew New Testament at parting. They learned little about the Jews in Paris, for in that large city there is great apathy about their state. In their progress through France, they met with specimens of the two classes of Jews, the Talmudical and the Rationalistic. It would be great injustice to give the account of them in any other than Mr. M'Cheyne's very graphic words. "In one French town we called on the Protestant minister, a lively, judicious, and interesting young man. He and a Jew conducted us to the rabbi,

\* Extracts from their report have been published in the Home and Foreign Missionary Record.

an old man, with a grisly beard, living in a poor house, with few marks of comfort. A few folio volumes in Hebrew adorned the drawers; and an old bookcase contained some more. The Jew introduced us as friends of Israel, but the rabbi soon found out that we were Christians. His French was very bad, and his German little better; but we easily understood that he was bigoted and illiterate. We read Isaiah fifty-third in his own Hebrew Bible, which he explained according to the comment on the margin, referring it to the sufferings of all just men in this world. The Jew who was with us, at first opposed us bitterly along with his rabbi, but he afterwards calmed down, and seemed really impressed—accepted Dr. Keith's book, and refused any recompense for his trouble."—"Another rabbi in the south of France received us very politely; and was quite ready to enter upon an amicable discussion on divine things. He seemed an intelligent man of forty years of age. His wife also was in the room. He told us that there were few learned Jews there, most being entirely devoted to commerce. When we expressed our deep veneration for Israel, and our obligations to the Jews, he surprised us by saying that a man might be saved in any religion. He denied the fall of Adam, and tried to prove that the curse was really a blessing. He told us that the "new heart," promised in Ezekiel, was only a higher improvement of the mind. He had no confidence in the Talmud; and did not believe in the restoration of Israel. We went over many other points. He seemed to love argument much, especially of a philosophic kind, falsely so called. In a word, he was a complete specimen of the Rationalist Infidel Jew. He rose up with us and led us

to the synagogue. A small number of Jews was collected; and our rabbi immediately began to chant the prayers—strange contrast! At one time all prayed in silence,—a poor dead service it was.”

At Marseilles the deputation embarked for Italy, and arrived at Genoa on the 24th of April. There they were informed by a Jewish gentleman of the condition of his brethren in Italy. He stated to them that one family in Genoa, consisting of seven individuals, had lately become Roman Catholics; while a Jewish child had, a short time before, been baptized by the English Protestant minister at Pisa. From Genoa the deputation proceeded to Leghorn, where they visited the synagogue several times, and called thrice upon a rabbi from Jerusalem, who was there at that time. He discussed controversial topics with them. Among other remarks, he said that Jesus Christ could not be “the Prince of Peace,” because he himself said, “I am not come to send peace upon earth, but a sword.” His arguments were chiefly borrowed from a little book which he had beside him, entitled a “Defence of the Faith.” The ability which the members of the deputation showed in their discussions with him, made a considerable impression upon the Jews, who, however, confessed themselves at a loss to explain their friendly mission to Israel.

The deputation next proceeded to Malta, and thence sailed to Syra, and afterwards to Alexandria, where they arrived on the 13th of May. On the voyage they conversed with four Jews, who were going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and were informed by one of the officers of the ship, that from November to February, it was very common to have sixty Israelites at a time, going to

the Holy City. At Alexandria, they went to the synagogue of the Frank or European Jews, at the hour of evening prayer. The following account of it is given by Mr. Bonar:—"We ascended a dark stair, in an obscure street of the town, and, after crossing a narrow passage, discovered at the end of it a room dimly lighted, wherein a few Jews were met. The apartment was not more than ninety feet long, and fifteen broad. At the door in the entrance, was a chest inscribed, as usual, with the word 'alms;' and opposite to it another, inscribed 'oil for the lights.' In the centre of the room, the desk for the reader was placed; and the ark containing their Torah and holy books was a sort of projection from the wall at the extremity of the room, covered with poor drapery. Three Jews in the Eastern dress were present, the rest were mostly in European costume. The service for the evening was soon over, and no sooner was it ended than they, one after another, came and spoke to us. We entered into conversation; they showed us their ark, a proof that they were not very devout Jews; and spread before us the copy of the Torah, so that we stood at the desk, and with their own Torah before them, spoke to them of their sins and their need of atonement. We pressed on some, who continued a good while with us, the fact of Messiah coming first to die for sin, and the second time in glory. This was all done in a very friendly way, standing in the synagogue, with about a dozen Jews present."

The deputation left Alexandria for Palestine on the 16th of May. Their road lay along the seashore until they reached Damietta. From this town they sailed across Lake Menzaleh to San, the ancient Zoan, where

they found immense mounds of brick and pottery, large blocks of granite, the remains of some vast temple; two sphinxes,—one in very perfect preservation; and a great many obelisks, beautifully carved. In their journey from this scene of grandeur in desolation, they suffered much from heat, the thermometer being sometimes 95° in their tent. They entered the land of the Philistines on the 1st of June. Mr. M'Cheyne states, that so pastoral is this country, that he has counted no fewer than ten flocks, of immense size, from a single eminence. The deputation did not enter Gaza, on account of the prevalence of the plague there. They found the reapers busy cutting barley in the valley of Eschol; but its vines had all perished. They next entered the hill-country of Judea, where, as in every portion of the Holy Land, scriptural associations crowded upon their minds; and scriptural imagery assumed an energy and appropriateness, of which they had previously but a comparatively faint idea. The following passage from one of Mr. M'Cheyne's letters is an admirable illustration of Holy Writ:—"The terraced hills, above all, excited our admiration. You have no idea to what an extent that wonderful method of cultivation must have been carried on by the Jews, nor of the perfect condition in which the remains are at this day. We have scarcely seen a hill in the whole land, however rocky and barren, that does not bear the traces, more or less perfect, of having been terraced literally from top to bottom. We often counted fifty, sixty, and seventy terraces, on one rocky hill. No spot was left uncultivated; so that, when the vines were planted and trained, the words of the eightieth Psalm were literally true, 'The hills were covered with the

shadow of it.' Indeed, we remarked, that God himself seems to have suggested this method of cultivation to his people, by the very structure of the Judean mountains. Most of them are stratified in a horizontal direction; and the strata appear at such regular distances, that in many cases they are used as the foundation of the dyke, or rough wall, which supports the terrace. The question was continually rising to our lips, 'Where are all the vines that covered these hills with their fragrant clusters?' We found the answer in Hosea, ii. 12, 'I will destroy her vines;' and in Joel, i. 11, 12, 'Howl, ye vine-dressers! for the vine is dried up, and the fig-tree languisheth;' and in Isaiah, xxiv. 7, 'The vine languisheth.' Another question also was suggested,—'Are these empty terraces ever to be replenished again?' Again we found the answer in the prophet Amos, ix. 14, 'I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof. The mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt.'"

On their arrival at Jerusalem, the deputation experienced the greatest kindness from Mr. Young, who had entered upon the duties of his office about three months previously. Mr. Nicolayson, who is described as "a man of learning, and a man of God," received them as brethren, and insisted on their occupying one of the mission-houses upon Mount Zion. He accompanied them to all the interesting spots in and near Jerusalem. At first they were disposed to think everything about it very diminutive, but this impression wore off, upon going from place to place, and seeing each locality in its proper point of view. They were especially struck with the view from the Mount of Olives, with Gethsemane, and



with Bethany; a village retired and peaceful, lying amidst the rising ground of Olivet, and the walk to which is most beautiful, and so quiet and secluded, that our Lord and his disciples might walk along in holy conversation, as if quite withdrawn from the world. But they were disappointed with Calvary, on account of the mummeries which popery enacts there, to the grief of every one who knows the spiritual nature of Christianity. An increase of the plague hastened their departure from Jerusalem, which they left on the 18th of June; having visited Hebron (where there are two small and ill-furnished synagogues) some days previously, accompanied by Mr. Nicolayson. The next place which they visited was Ramah, Samuel's birthplace, from which they came to the site of Bethel. On the following day they passed to Naplous, the ancient Sychar, where they visited the Samaritans, whose numbers are stated by Mr. Bonar to be about sixty; and the Jews, whom they saw in their synagogue, at six in the morning, met for morning prayer, each one wearing his phylactery. From this place they came to the ruins of Samaria, where they found a remarkable fulfilment of the prophecy of Micah, i. 6, "I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard; and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof." "The city," says Mr. Bonar, "stood on the surface of the hill-top; and now the stones of the city are literally cleared off, like the heaps in a field, as men do when they plant a vineyard to make room for fields and gardens; while the stones themselves of the large foundations, and pieces of columns, are seen poured down the sides of the hill, and on their way to the valley."

The deputation arrived at Mount Carmel on the 21st, from which they intended to proceed on a visit to Tiberias and Saphet, both very interesting places, from the number of Jews which they contain; but, owing to the unsafeness of the roads, they were, with some pain, obliged to embark for Beyrout. On their arrival there, they found that the dangers of the road to Galilee had been greatly exaggerated; but it was impossible for all of them to avail themselves of the opportunity which they still had of visiting Tiberias and Saphet, for Dr. Black had begun to suffer from the climate; and it was deemed expedient that he and Dr. Keith should proceed without delay to Smyrna and Constantinople. The two junior members of the deputation, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar, left Beyrout,\* on the 8th of July, for the cities of Galilee; and next morning reached Saide, the ancient Zidon, which they found a quiet seaport, frequented only by a few fishing-boats. There they entered into the synagogue, and conversed with the Jews. On the following day they arrived at Tyre, now Sour; where they found a few families of Jews, of whom some had lately come from Algiers, and the rest were from Saphet and other places of Palestine. They were struck with the remarkable fulfilment of prophecy respecting this once opulent and renowned seat of commerce. They then turned eastward, into the heart of the country; and, on the second day after leaving Tyre, arrived at Saphet, where they found the Jews in a miserable state, expecting an attack from the Arabs. They had buried under ground what valuables they possessed. The

\* Mr. Calman, a converted Jew, accompanied Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar from Beyrout to Europe.

Jews in general kept aloof; but they contrived to enter into conversation with some of them. There was in Saphet at this time a Russian, who had embraced Judaism a few years before. While at this city they rode out to visit some of the places in the vicinity; and heard of, but had not time to reach, a village named Bereeah, where there are about twenty Jews, who support themselves by cultivating the soil, "a thing new in Israel, though soon to be universal among them." (Ezekiel, xxxviii. 8, 11, 12.) They spent the next day, which was the Sabbath, at Saphet; and, on the Monday after, proceeded along the banks of the Lake of Gennesareth, which is clear, and has a pebbly channel. The water is sweet and soft. Although the edge is generally either bare or fringed with reeds, rhododendrons in full bloom, and a species of convolvulus, sometimes form a beautiful border. At Tiberias, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar found the Jews in a state of misery, but still the most cleanly of the population. They have five synagogues, none of them large, but all well kept. Their worship is occasionally very extravagant; they leap and stamp on the ground, like what has been stated of the Jumpers among the Methodists. After paying a visit to the remarkable springs near the town, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar set out for Nazareth, and crossed Mount Tabor on their way. Having surveyed Nazareth, they entered a valley, along which lies the road to Acre. Here they providentially escaped being plundered by some Arabs; who, however, seized one of their attendants, and robbed him of every thing he had. At Acre they found a small Jewish synagogue, and saw in it an aged man, who spends no fewer than *six* hours every day in prayer for his soul's

salvation. Two days after, they again reached Beyrout, which they left on the 28th July, in an Austrian steam-boat, and reached Smyrna on the 1st August. There they attended divine service at the English chapel,—above the pulpit of which is written, from the epistle to the Church at Smyrna in Revelation, “Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life.” The sail from Smyrna to Constantinople occupied only a day and a half; it was performed in an Austrian steam-boat, commanded by an English captain. In the Turkish capital there are about eighty thousand Jews; regarded as a community by the government; who appoint a rabbin as their head, whom the Grand Seignior holds responsible for the conduct of his nation. They are, for the most part, very strict and bigoted. Mr. Farman, the missionary of the London Jewish Society, showed Messrs. M’Cheyne and Bonar a manuscript history, in Hebrew, of the coming of the Jews to Constantinople, when driven from Spain. On the 26th of August, they sailed along the Black Sea, to the mouth of the Danube; up which river they next proceeded to Galatz, the port of Moldavia, where they found a good many Jews, who were either mechanics or money-changers. Leaving the Danube at this place, they rode through Wallachia, part of the ancient Dacia; where, as Mr. M’Cheyne states, they saw many a “Dacian mother” at the doors of the cottages, with the distaff in her hand, while her “young barbarians” were “at play” beside her. At Ibraila, the port of Wallachia, they learned that there were thirty Jewish families, who, however, had no rabbin, and did every one what was right in his own eyes!

The next place at which Messrs. M’Cheyne and Bo-

nar arrived was Bucharest, to which they travelled in the *brashowanca*, a covered carriage of the British vice-consul at Galatz, Mr. Cunningham. The language of their postilions amused them, as it had many remains of Latin in it. At Bucharest they received the utmost kindness from the British consul, M. Colquhoun; who informed them, that Dr. Black and Dr. Keith had preceded them only ten days before, having been detained three weeks in quarantine. From him they also learned that there are 2800 Jews at Bucharest; but the Jews themselves affirm that there are 5000. They witnessed, at this town, the ceremony of the New Year, (See Appendix,) which consists in repeating the forty-seventh Psalm, blowing rams' horns, shouting and prayer. There were 200 converts from Judaism to the Greek faith; but only three seemed really serious. On entering the province of Wallachia, every Jew is obliged to bring a certificate, stating that he is able to earn a livelihood by some trade. On the 12th of September, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar left for Foxany, which they reached in twenty four hours. At this place there are 300 Jews, and two synagogues. At Birlet, their next station, there are 500 Israelites. The next night they reached Washie, where they witnessed the killing of the *capora*, the only sacrifice which the descendants of Abraham now offer. "Every Jew this morning sacrifices a cock, and every Jewess a hen. Looking in at a window, we saw the son reading the prayers,—the mother standing with a white hen in her hands. At a certain point in the prayer, she waved the struggling fowl round her head three times; saying in Hebrew, 'This is my atonement, (See Appendix,)—this is my ransom,—this is my expi-

ation,—this hen shall go to death, and I to happy life.' This was repeated thrice; the door then opened, and the boy was sent off with the fowl to the *sochet* to get it killed."

Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar next arrived at Jassy, where they saw numbers of well-dressed Jews, with their wives and children,—some of the Jewesses richly adorned with jewels—hastening to the synagogue, for on that evening the day of absolution began. (See Appendix). They visited two synagogues, which were crowded to excess. On the three following days their time was fully occupied in visiting the synagogue, and conversing with the Jews. They were likewise present at a Hebrew marriage. (See Appendix). Although there are 20,000 Israelites in Jassy, only two understand the Hebrew tongue grammatically; and these are infidels, belonging to a secret society in Galicia. They left Jassy on the evening of the 20th September, and next morning were in Botoshani, where there are about 4000 Jews, of most respectable appearance. After remaining some days in quarantine at Bossanze on the Austrian frontier, they proceeded through Buckowina, where they were able to mark every Jewish house they passed; for it was the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, (See Appendix,) and they all had booths erected by their walls, made of the boughs of willows, or other trees. They had learned to distinguish even villages wherein Jews resided, as they never fail to put up at the entrance a *naboth*, or string, stretched from house to house across the street. By a Talmudical fiction, the place is considered a walled town when this string is put up; and being *walled*, it is allowed them to carry burdens, such as their prayer-

books, to any spot *within* the range! They ground this idea on Jeremiah, xvii. 21, "Take heed to yourselves, and bear no burden on the Sabbath-day, nor bring it *in by the gates* of Jerusalem." In many of the Jewish dwellings, there were suspended, in a frame on the wall which lay towards the east, a small tablet, with the word Metrah, "the East," inscribed on it in large characters. This is designed to direct them to the quarter where Jerusalem lies, in order that, like Daniel of old, they may pray with their faces towards the Holy City. After passing through Czernowitz, the road lay along a tame country until they began to descend a pass, which opens suddenly upon the very bank of the Dniester, the boundary between Buckowina and Galicia. After crossing this river, they arrived at Zalesky, where there are many Jews, but degraded and ignorant; their rich brethren in the place had embraced the Romish faith. They next came to a village called Jaglinsky, where they spent the Sabbath, and witnessed the celebration of the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. The Jews leaped, danced, and sang in the most fanatical manner. Next morning they left for Tarnapole, a considerable town, built near a lake, with a Jewish population of about 2000 families. The most respectable half of these have joined the new synagogue, or infidel Jews, who have renounced both the Old Testament and the Talmud; but worship outwardly like devout Israelites. The sincere Jews are very superstitious. They showed Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar the grave of a Jewess, daughter of a rabbin, who died 200 years ago; and alleged that hundreds of miraculous cures have been wrought there. At the town of Brody they found a population of 30,000 Jews and only



10,000 Christians; the latter have no more than three churches, while the former possess 150 synagogues. The principal synagogue, in the interior, has somewhat the aspect of a Gothic church. It is so spacious, that it may contain 3000 persons, and its roof is supported by four massive pillars. Splendid lustres hang from every part of the roof. On leaving this town, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar were deprived of all their books, and even of their English Bibles and Testaments (with the exception of a small copy of the latter, which escaped the notice of their inquisitors) by the officers of the custom-house, who informed them that such works were altogether forbidden in Austria. The books were sent forward to wait for them at Cracow. At the latter place, which they reached on the 11th of October, they found a Jewish population of about 22,000; who are compelled to live in a quarter of the town named Cazimir, separated from the rest by the small stream called Little Vistula. At Cracow, the Rev. T. Hiscock, a missionary of the London Jews' Society, is stationed. The government tolerates his labors; but, through the influence of Popery, obstructs his usefulness in various ways.

From Cracow, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar proceeded to Breslau, the capital of Silesia; and from thence to Posen, where they arrived on the 19th of October. There they found out Mr. Bellson, the missionary of the London Society, and visited the schools belonging to that institution. We have quoted, in a preceding part of this chapter, the account given of two of these schools by Mr. M'Cheyne.

At Berlin, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar found about 8000 Jews. They visited both the old and the new syn-

agogues; and, in the latter, heard a sermon from the rabbin, on Abraham offering up Isaac. The service was a close imitation of that of the Lutheran church. The great majority of the Hebrew population of the Prussian capital were believed to be sunk in infidelity. One of them observed, "Christ was a good man, and Moses was a good man, but I believe neither." Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar heard Mr. Becker, the missionary of the London Society, preach to the Jews in the Cloister church; and met with two proselytes, doctors of medicine, who were willing to act as medical laborers among their brethren. While surprised to learn that Dr. Neander, whom they heard lecture in the University, is no friend to missionary exertions among his brethren, they were gratified to find that the movement of the Scottish church, in favor of Israel, excited the liveliest interest, and called forth the warmest good wishes among the religious public in Prussia and Germany.

A journey of two nights and a day from Berlin brought Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar to Hamburgh, where they visited both the old and new synagogues. The latter is styled the "Temple of the Israelites;" but it is "a temple without a Shechinah." The rabbin, Dr. Gothold Solomon,\* preached in German, spoke of patience as a *Christian* virtue, and quoted a Christian author. The congregation of the "Temple" have a liturgy, from which they have erased all mention of the Messiah. Mr. Moritz, who has been a convert thirty-two years, is the missionary of the London Society at Hamburgh.

\* In the course of last year, a volume of twelve sermons, delivered in the New Temple of the Israelites at Hamburgh, by Dr. Solomon, and translated from the German by Anna M. Goldsmid, was published by Mr. Murray of Albemarle-street.

He was employed from 1817 to 1825 by the Emperor Alexander of Russia, to preach to the Jews, which he did with great acceptance, and often with cheering success. His labors at Hamburgh are impeded by the influence of the Jews, who put down a school for Jewish children. He stated his decided opinion, that no deep impression would be made upon the Hebrew mind there, until a congregation of converts should be formed; on a plan, in some measure, similar to that of the Moravians, by which they might maintain themselves, while receiving the benefit of the instructions of a stated pastor. At Hamburgh, Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar embarked for England, which they reached after an absence of about seven months. While they were proceeding homewards through Turkey, Poland, Prussia, and the north of Germany, their fellow-travellers, Dr. Black and Dr. Keith, were detained in Hungary by severe and dangerous illness. Although they were providentially restored to health, their recovery was not so speedy as to permit them to be present with their younger brethren at the meeting of the General Assembly's Commission in November, 1839. A statement of their proceedings was made at that meeting by Messrs. M'Cheyne and Bonar. Before the meeting of the General Assembly, the senior clergymen arrived in Scotland; and Dr. Black and Mr. M'Cheyne appeared in the name of the deputation at the bar of that reverend body, on the 22d of May, 1840, and gave in their report; which did not embrace any narrative of their proceedings, partly because the briefest sketch of their journey would have extended its limits to an unwarrantable length, and partly because the members of the deputation intend to lay a full and deliberate narrative before the church and the public.

The following are brief extracts from their report:—  
“There is a law in our nature, according to which the sight of the object calls forth, in the most vivid manner, the emotion of the heart. Our blessed Lord himself evidently shared with us in this sinless and amiable infirmity. When he came near the gate of Nain, and saw the widowed mother following the bier of her only son, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, ‘Weep not.’ And again, ‘when he saw the multitudes of Galilee, he had compassion on them.’ The sight of the object affected his heart, and drew forth the tender feelings that were treasured there.

“It was exactly in accordance with this law of our nature, that the Committee of our Church for the Conversion of the Jews came to the resolution, in March 1839, of sending out four of their brethren, to go and see what was the real condition of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The information received, by means of correspondence and printed documents, had produced a general and decided impression of interest in behalf of the Jews. Still it was felt that, if ministers of our own Church were sent out upon a mission of kindness and inquiry to the various countries where the Jews reside, they would return, not only with fuller and more accurate information, but also with hearts kindled into a flame of holy compassion by the actual sight of the dry bones of Israel, in the open valley, very many and very dry.

“By the good hand of our God upon us, this interesting mission has been accomplished. And now, that we have been brought in safety back to our beloved land, and are permitted to stand once more in the venerable

assembly of our church, it is our hearts' desire and prayer, that the anticipations with which we were sent out may be fully realized. We do feel that a vast weight of responsibility lies upon those of us who have been privileged to visit the many thousands of Israel—to see them wandering as strangers on the mountains of Judah—and spreading forth their hands in the synagogues of Poland. Our hearts do truly burn within us, not only to lay before the church the result of our inquiries, but to convey to all the vivid impressions of compassion to Israel which we have ourselves received.

“Could we but carry our fathers and brethren, and the Christian people of Scotland, through the scenes which we have witnessed,—could we communicate the feelings with which we beheld the Jew praying beside the ruined wall of the temple of Jerusalem, or the feelings with which we witnessed the extravagant devotion in the synagogues of Galilee, or the feelings with which we walked through the streets of Brody, where scarcely any but the bearded sons of Abraham are to be seen;—above all, could we make known, as vividly as we have seen, the thousand ways in which they go about to establish their own righteousness—praying to the dead, making pilgrimage to Jerusalem, wearing phylacteries, killing the capora, or dancing with the law—we are quite sure that there would be but one thrill of sympathetic interest felt throughout the whole church; and one fervent effectual prayer would arise from all the praying families in Scotland—‘Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion!’”

“Some may ask this question,—Is there really a call upon the Church of Scotland to take up the cause of the

Jews? Are they not in the same condition in which they have been ever since they crucified the Lord of glory? Are they not lying under a curse of judicial blindness? To this we answer, that there is a loud call upon us to take up the cause of the Jews, from their present condition. The testimony of Prof. Tholuck on this point is exceedingly valuable; he says, 'It is an undoubted fact that more proselytes have been made during the last twenty years, than since the first ages of the Church. Not only in Germany, but also in Poland there has been the most astonishing success. In the University of Breslau there are three professors who were formerly Israelites—in that of Halle there are no less than five.'

"We might show that some of the Jewish conversions have taken place among men of the highest literary attainment; and, amongst others, I might mention Dr. Neander, of Berlin, Dr. Branis, of Breslau, and Dr. Stahl, of Erlangen. These are all persons of the highest scientific reputation, and now faithful followers of our Lord Jesus Christ. But some may make another objection,—Is it wise, in the present condition of the other schemes of our Church, to engage in a new enterprise? Are we not weakening the force of our attacks upon the kingdom of darkness, by dividing our army and extending our lines? Would it not be safer policy to concentrate all our forces upon the work of sending the Gospel to our countrymen at home and abroad, and to the great heathen world of India. To this we answer, that 'the wisdom of this world is often foolishness with God; for it is written, He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.' Does it not seem the wisest policy of all,

according to human wisdom, to keep the Gospel to ourselves altogether,—to provide ministers only for the heathen at home,—to cultivate our garden at home before going to the vast outfield of the world that lieth in wickedness? Such is the short-sighted policy of man; and yet this is the very policy that has drawn down the judgments of God upon most of the Churches of the Reformation, so that their candlesticks have been removed out of their place. This is the very policy that has well nigh brought down the withering curse upon the pleasant fig-tree of the Church of Scotland. ‘No man eat fruit of thee forever.’ We hold it to be clear to demonstration, that, in order to keep the light pure in our own land, we must let its rays spread into the darkness of all other lands. If we will keep our hands about the lamp of the Gospel, or conceal it beneath the folds of our garments, we shall soon find that our lamp is smothered and gone out. We must *use* the light, or else we shall *lose* the light.

“But not only must we hold forth the lamp of the Gospel; we must hold it forth in the way pointed out by God, if we would expect the blessing from on high; we must let the Gospel shine on the ‘Jew first, and also on the Greek;’ and whilst we send the Word to all nations, ‘begin at Jerusalem.’ In this way shall we be not only faithful, but wise stewards of the manifold grace of God, and receive the reward not only of those who distribute to others our Lord’s goods, but who distribute them according to his mind and will.

“Is it not a remarkable fact, that in the very same year in which God put it into the hearts of the ministers of the church of Scotland to send out messengers to inquire af-



ter Israel, and to seek their good,—at the very time they were away on their blessed errand, God should have visited his people in Scotland, in giving them bread in a way which he had not done for a century before, reviving the solemn days of Kirk of Shotts and Cambuslang, of Kilsyth and Moulin,—‘opening the windows of heaven, and pouring down a blessing till there was no room to receive it!’ Does not this simple fact put to shame the doubts and calculations of merely human wisdom; and should we not be encouraged, with faith and cheerfulness, to go on in the good work we have begun, remembering the promise, ‘From this day will I bless you?’

“But are we not dividing the stream of Christian love to too many objects? Are we not distracting the hearts of the Christian people, by drawing, first to home objects, then to India, then to the Jews?”

“To this we answer, that the heart of the Christian should be like the heart of Christ; and the heart of the Church, or community of Christians, should be the same. We need not be afraid of dividing the stream of Christian love to too many objects, unless we go beyond the objects of the love of Christ. We cannot be wrong in loving as he loved.

“If there be truth in the word of God, it cannot be denied that God had, and still has, a peculiar love to Israel. When he first chose them he said, ‘Israel is my first-born.’ True, they have been now 1800 years in captivity; still they ‘are beloved for the fathers’ sakes.’ How solemn are the words of God: ‘I have given the dearly beloved of my soul into the hand of her enemies.’ ‘Since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still. I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord.’

“Shall the Church of Scotland be ashamed to feel as her God does towards unhappy Israel? Shall we blush to say that they are dearly beloved of our soul, and that we earnestly remember them still? Shall we be afraid to distract the hearts of our people, by leading them to be like their God in his holy compassionate love to Israel?

“When God was manifest in flesh, in the person of Jesus Christ, how wonderfully did this divine love beam through all he did and all he said. Did he not say, ‘I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel?’ And, oh! what a revelation of the infinite heart of God did he not make, when he cried, ‘O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!’

“And when he came near and beheld the city, and wept over it, what did these tears speak that fell upon Mount Olivet, but love unutterable toward unbelieving Jerusalem?

“Shall the Church of Scotland be ashamed to have the same tender heart towards Jerusalem that the Saviour had? Shall we blush to shed the same tears which he shed? Shall we be afraid to bid our people take up Immanuel’s cry of tenderness, ‘O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often we would have gathered you, and ye would not!’

“This peculiar love to Israel was never intended to rest only in the bosom of the Saviour: from him, as the head, it flows to all its members. It is found in all who bear much of his image. Look at Paul. What is it that bows down the heart of the dauntless apostle? What is it that

gives a continual pensiveness to his holy eye ! Hear his own words : ‘ I have great heaviness and continual sorrow at my heart (for I once wished myself accursed from Christ), for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh,’—‘ My heart’s desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.’

“ Shall the Church of Scotland be ashamed to be like Paul, the pattern of all Christian ministers ? Shall we blush to have the same sorrow in our heart, the same cloud upon our brow, that marked the apostle to the Gentiles ? Shall we not rather resolve, that whatever others do, as for us and our people, we will be followers of Paul, even as he was of Christ—love as he loved—pray as he prayed ?”

The report, also, contained a condensed statement of the information collected by the deputation regarding the present state of the Jews, and a recommendation of various stations as suitable for missionary exertion. These were Saphet in Galilee, Jassy, or Bucharest, Hungary, Posen, Smyrna, Constantinople, Leghorn and Gibraltar. 1. Saphet, from its central situation, and healthy climate, is well adapted to be the head-quarters of a mission ; which might embrace, in its sphere of operations, the north, as the English mission at Jerusalem does the south of the Holy Land.\* 2. Jassy seems preferable to Bucharest as a missionary station, because

\* Although, to use the words of the Deputation, the “ Holy Land presents the most attractive and the most important field for missionary operations among the Jews,” the qualifications necessary for an effective laborer there, as stated by Mr. Nicolayson, are great, since such a person would require to be acquainted with the Hebrew, Arabic, German, Spanish and Italian languages, besides being well versed in prophecy, and in rabbinical learning.

the number of Jewish inhabitants is nearly seven times greater. It is believed that, though any direct effort for the reformation of the members of the Greek Church would be put down by the Moldavian government, it would not object to labors for the conversion of the seed of Abraham. 3. There is no missionary among the large Jewish population of Hungary, amounting to 250,000 or 300,000, so that the field is quite unoccupied, and would afford ample scope for exertion. 4. As there are no fewer than 73,000 Israelites in Posen, the meritorious and energetic labors of the three missionaries, employed by the London Society, have by no means left the Scottish Church nothing to do. 5. At Smyrna, there is one missionary at present, but he is a layman. The principal obstacles in this city would be, the difficulty of supporting converts, and the persecution, which the Jewish body have power from the government to raise against those of their brethren who embrace Christianity. 6. At Constantinople there are two missionaries, one from England, and another from America; but the very large Hebrew population, amounting to 80,000, would require a greater number of laborers. The Caraites in the Turkish capital would, it is believed, afford a good prospect of success to a zealous and devoted missionary. At Constantinople, however, the same obstacles as at Smyrna might be felt. 7. The influence of the Jews with the authorities at Leghorn might possibly put an end to all labors attempted in that city. The number of Scottish residents there seems to call for the appointment of a Presbyterian chaplain; and it occurred to the deputation that, in such a case, he might combine with his other duties that of preaching to the Jews; though aware of the

inexpediency, in general, of uniting the two departments of ministerial exertion. 8. Gibraltar would present an important centre of missionary operations, on account of its vicinity to the coast of Barbary, of which all the towns contain a considerable proportion of Israelites. Although Austrian Poland, from its large Hebrew population, is a scene of great interest to the true friend of Israel, all present efforts in that quarter are hopeless; on account of the determined opposition of the government, which would not allow any one either to preach or distribute tracts among the inhabitants, whether adherents of Popery or Judaism.

It is not known what measures the General Assembly's Committee intend to adopt, in order to carry into execution the suggestions of the deputation. Some time will probably be necessary to enable them to devise plans for the furtherance of the good work in which they have engaged. Meanwhile, it is gratifying to observe that the interest in the spiritual welfare of Israel, which extensively pervaded the members of the Church of Scotland, and occasioned the movement of the General Assembly, has by no means diminished, but on the contrary, increased of late; as is testified by the subscriptions and collections\* which have been sent in to the Committee. There is every reason to believe, that this interest will continue to augment in a progressive ratio; and that the ministers, elders and people of the Established Church will make vigorous exertions for the support of the Assembly's latest, but not least important

\* The most interesting of these collections is that from the parish of Blairgowrie, where a revival of religion has attested its genuineness by the contribution of £60, 10s. among the poor people, to the support of the first Jewish missionary.

scheme. When they remember how little it could have been expected, at the time of Dr. Duff's sailing for India eleven years ago, that the name of that honored missionary would now be classed with those of Schwartz, Martyn and Carey; and that strong and flourishing missions would be established at each of the three presidencies, which have been the means of much good already, and promise to be the instruments of a far greater amount of benefit in future—they will not look with despondency but with hope, to the results of their efforts in the cause of God's ancient people.\*

We have thus traced the history of the Jews from the period of the destruction of the Second Temple to the present time. For nearly eighteen centuries they have been without a king, a priesthood, or a country, wanderers upon the face of the earth; yet, in spite of circumstances, which tended to amalgamate them with other portions of the great human family, they have preserved their distinct individuality; they have been "intermingled with all nations, but uniting with none." While the philosopher may speculate about the causes which have produced this remarkable phenomenon, the Christian will recognise in it the hand of God fulfilling his own words, "The people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." During the whole of the period we have indicated, they have been God's "witnesses," not, as before the advent of the Messiah, by testifying the unity of Jehovah in opposition to the polytheism

\* The baptism of several Israelites, both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, is a pleasing omen of future success. Much of the good hitherto done in these cities is to be ascribed to the labors of Mr. Cerf (himself a convert from Judaism) among his brethren.

of other nations ; but by attesting, in their own rejection and dispersion, the anger of the Lord against the impenitent and unbelieving, and the truth of the prophecies delivered of old. Their past and present state thus furnishes to Christians the means of at once perceiving their own responsibilities, and repelling the cavils of skeptics and infidels.

“ Their glory faded, and their race dispersed,  
The last of nations now, though once the first ;  
They warn and teach the proudest, would they learn,  
Keep wisdom, or meet vengeance in your turn :  
If we escaped not, if Heaven spared not us,  
Peel'd, scatter'd and exterminated thus ;  
If vice received her retribution due,  
When we were visited, what hope for you ? ”

COWPER.

During those eighteen centuries, the Jews have been for the most part a despised and persecuted race ; occasionally enjoying a brief season of prosperity, but soon becoming again subject to insult and danger. Of late their temporal prospects have brightened, and in many countries they have been relieved from the intolerant treatment to which they were formerly subjected. Nor have the efforts of pious Christians to ameliorate their religious state been unattended with success. A much greater proportion of conversions has, within the last thirty years, taken place among Jews than among Heathens. Unquestionably among the proselytes from Judaism several have been influenced solely by secular motives ; but the peaceful deaths of some, and the consistent lives of others, have attested the sincerity of their belief in the Gospel. Conversions have occurred among all classes, from the learned rabbin to the simple child ; and proof has thus been given that the Lord is beginning



to show his mercy to his ancient people, by taking away the veil, which "is upon their heart, when Moses is read." This ought assuredly, to stimulate Christians to greater efforts in their cause.

The race of Abraham were too long exposed to the hatred and contempt of those who bore the name of Christ. It is to be hoped, that, among Protestants at least, none now cherish feelings so alien from the spirit of the Gospel; but it is to be feared that, in many quarters, there is great indifference to the religious improvement of Israel. It is earnestly to be wished, that this apathy may be removed; and that all, who have themselves felt the power of evangelical truth, may take an unwearied interest in the cause of the Jews. Especially is it to be desired, that Great Britain, which, on account of its great spiritual and temporal privileges has been styled the Israel of modern times, may now rouse herself to active exertions in behalf of God's ancient people. Devoutly is it to be wished, that the welfare of that remarkable race may become a subject of deep interest to all classes; and that churchmen and dissenters will strive, with a godly emulation, to forward the cause of Jewish evangelization. If, among the members of every orthodox denomination, the cause of the Jews were made a constant subject of special private, domestic and public prayer—if suitable efforts were made to send faithful and well-qualified men among the seed of Abraham, who should tell the Talmudical Jew that the ritual observances, which he so laboriously practises, are now naught in the sight of God, as belonging to a system, whose time has passed away—who should inform the Caraites, that justice and integrity are only acceptable to the Lord, when

wrought by his Spirit in the hearts of believers in Christ—who should make known to the rationalistic Israelite, that a true “political regeneration” can only be accomplished by that religion, to which modern times are indebted for their civilization, and who should lay before all these classes the surpassing claims of the Gospel to their attention and acceptance—if this were done in that true spirit of piety, which resigns itself entirely to the will of God, being prepared thankfully to acknowledge his goodness in granting, and reverently adore his sovereignty in withholding success; then might it be expected that the refreshing and fertilizing dew of the Spirit would abundantly descend, and cause the wilderness of Judaism more and more to “rejoice and blossom as the rose.”

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The footsteps of the Church of Scotland have been promptly and nobly followed by the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, whose General Assembly, in 1841, resolved on sending missionaries to the Jews.

In the course of the session of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, in 1841, in the city of New York, the following resolutions were passed by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, and concurred in by the House of Bishops:

“*Resolved*, 1. That this Convention feels a deep interest in the recent movements in behalf of the Jews, and in the faithful zeal of our mother Church of England, in the same cause; and believes that the time has come when a similar movement may be made by our own Church, through the agency of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

“*Resolved*, 2. That this Convention invite the early attention of the Board of Missions to the subject of the condition of the Jews, especially of such as reside in the United States, and to mature and adopt such measures as may be deemed proper for bringing them to the Unity of the Faith, the bosom of the Church of God, and the saving knowledge of the Messiah.”

## APPENDIX.

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### CEREMONIES OF THE JEWS.

#### *Sabbath.*

ACCORDING to the Jewish computation of time, the day commences at sunset. On Friday evening, and about one hour before sunset on this evening, all business transactions and secular occupations cease, and the twenty-four hours following are devoted to the celebration of the holy Sabbath. I would here state that all fast and feast days commence at the same hour with the Sabbath. The services of the Sabbath commence with going to the synagogue where daily afternoon service is read, after which some very beautiful and appropriate hymns are sung by the reader and the congregation alternately; then the sabbatical evening service is read and sung. While the males are attending to the services of the synagogue, the females occupy themselves at home in making preparation for the observance of the following day, which consists in covering all the tables with clean cloths; and they place upon the tables off of which they eat their food a lamp having seven branches, in token of the seven days of the week. When the mistress of the house lights the lamps she offers this prayer. "Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God, king of the universe, who hast sanctified us with his commandment, and commanded us to light the lights of the Sabbath." The reason why this ceremony is

invariably assigned to the women is because their original mother, by her crime in eating the forbidden fruit, caused sin.

They set two loaves of bread upon one of the tables, baked on Friday, and covered with a napkin, in memory of the manna which fell with dew under and upon it, yet descended not on the Sabbath, but on the Friday they had a double portion. After prayers, the masters of families go home to their families, where they are received with more than ordinary cordiality. The parents then bless their children. If boys, the father puts his hands upon their heads, and says, "Let God do unto you as he did to Ephraim and Manasseh; and if girls, he wishes them to be like Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah. If persons are ever so old, they will never omit to crave the parents' blessing, every Friday evening and Saturday morning. After the ceremony of blessing, they wash their hands. This is done not by immersing the hands, but by pouring water on them. After washing, they lift up their hands and say, "lift up your hands in holiness and bless the Lord." When they are placed at the table, the master of the family takes a cup of wine, repeating the first three verses in the second chapter of Genesis, and after giving God thanks, and enjoining them to observe the Sabbath, he blesses the wine, drinks, and gives some to the rest of the family. He then blesses and distributes the bread. They repeat the usual grace after supper, with the addition of making mention of the Sabbath.

In the morning they repair to the synagogue, later than usual on the week days, where, after the accustomed prayers, besides others which are appropriate to the day,

they read a lesson from the law, and afterwards a corresponding portion from the prophets. There are three services, morning, afternoon, and evening. On their return from the last, a wax candle, or lamp with two wicks, is lighted and held by a child. The master then takes a glass of wine in his right hand, and a box of spices in his left. After a prayer, the cup of wine being taken in the left, and the spices in the right hand, after another prayer, he and all the family smell of the spices, and taste the wine. This ceremony is called Habdalla, or separation, because it separates the Sabbath from all other days.

#### *Civil and Ecclesiastical Year.*

The Jewish year is either civil or ecclesiastical. The civil year commences in the month Tishry, or September. The Jews have a tradition that the world was created on the first day of this month, and from this epoch they compute the age of the world, and make use of this date in all their civil acts. The ecclesiastical year commences about the vernal equinox, in the month Nisan, which answers to part of March and April. All the religious rites and ceremonies are regulated by the ecclesiastical year. On the first of every month they celebrate the feast of the new moon, praying God to restore them to the holy city, and erect the temple at Jerusalem, where they could render the offering for the feast according to the law, Numbers xxviii. 11.

#### *Feast of Passover.*

“The Feast of the Passover commences on the fifteenth day of the month Nisan, and continues, with Jews

who live in or near Jerusalem, seven days; and with those in all other places, eight days. The sabbath preceding the passover is called the *Great Sabbath*. On that day the Rabbi of each synagogue delivers a lecture, explaining the various regulations necessary to be observed on the approaching festival. During the whole time, they are required to abstain from leavened bread, and to suffer no leaven in their habitations. On the thirteenth day of the month, in the evening, the most careful and minute inquisition is made by the master of each family through every part of his house, in order to clear it of leavened bread and every other particle of leaven. All that can be found is collected together in a vessel, carefully preserved during the night, and, together with the vessel in which it is deposited, is solemnly burnt a little before noon the next day. No vessels are to be used that have had any leaven in them, and therefore the kitchen utensils used at other times are to be put away, and their places supplied by new ones, or by some that are kept from one Passover to another, and never used but on that occasion. For the same reason, the kitchen tables and chairs, shelves and cupboards, undergo a thorough purgation, first with hot water, and then with cold. A few days before the Passover, they make unleavened cakes, as many as will be wanted during the festival, to supply the place of common bread. Among other directions which regulate the preparation of the grain from which they are made, the meal is to be boulded in the presence of a Jew; and the dough is not to be left a moment without working or kneading, lest any fermentation should take place. The cakes are common-  
l round, thin, and full of little holes; and in general

they consist of flour and water only ; but the more wealthy and dainty Jews enrich them with eggs and sugar ; cakes so made, however, are not to be eaten on the first day of the festival. They are forbidden to drink any liquor made from grain.

“ On the fourteenth day of the month, the first-born son of each family is required to fast, in remembrance of the protection enjoyed by the first-born of Israel, when God smote all the first-born of the Egyptians.

“ In the evening of the fourteenth day of the month, the men assemble in the synagogue, to usher in the festival by prayers and other offices prescribed in their ritual. It is customary for every Jew to honor this festival by an exhibition of the most sumptuous furniture he can afford. The table is covered with a clean linen cloth, on which are placed several plates or dishes. On one is laid the shank bone of a shoulder of lamb or kid, but generally lamb, and an egg ; on another, three cakes, carefully wrapped in two napkins ; on a third, some lettuce, chervil, parsley, celery, wild succory, or horseraddish. These are their bitter herbs. Near the sallad is placed a cruet of vinegar, and some salt and water. They have also a dish representing the bricks required to be made by their forefathers in Egypt. This is a thick paste composed of apples, almonds, nuts and figs, dressed in wine and seasoned with cinnamon. Every Jew who can afford wine, also provides some for this occasion.

“ The family being seated, the master of the house pronounces a grace over the table in general, and the wine in particular. Then leaning in a stately manner on his left arm, as an indication of the liberty which the Israelites regained when they departed from Egypt, he



drinks a glass of wine, in which he is followed by all the company. Having emptied their glasses they dip some of the herbs in vinegar, and eat them, while the master repeats another benediction. The master next unfolds the napkins, and taking the middle cake, breaks it in two, replaces one of the pieces between the two whole cakes, and conceals the other piece under his plate, or under the cushion on which he leans, in professed allusion to the circumstance recorded by Moses, that 'the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading troughs being bound up in their clothes.' He removes the lamb and egg from the table. Then the plate containing the cakes being lifted up by the hands of the whole company, they unite in rehearsing, 'This is the bread of poverty and affliction which our fathers did eat in Egypt. Whosoever hungers, let him come and eat. Whosoever needs, let him come and eat of the Paschal Lamb. This year we are here: the next, God willing, we shall be in Canaan. This year we are servants: the next, if God will, we shall be free, children of the family, and lords.'

"The lamb and egg are again placed on the table, and another glass of wine is taken. The plate containing the cakes is removed, in order that the children may be excited to inquire into the meaning of the festival. If no children are present, some adult proposes a question according to a prescribed form, which is answered by an account of the captivity and slavery of the nation in Egypt, their deliverance by Moses, and the institution of the Passover on that occasion. This recital is followed by some psalms and hymns. After which (not to proceed with a detail of every particular movement) the

cakes are replaced on the table, and pieces of them are distributed among the company, who, 'instead of the paschal lamb,' the oblation of which is wholly discontinued,\* 'eat this unleavened bread' with some of the bitter herbs and part of the thick paste made in memory of the bricks.

"After this succeeds a plentiful supper, which is followed by some more pieces of the cakes, and two more glasses of wine: for they are required on this occasion to drink four glasses each; and every glass, according to the Rabbies, commemorates a special blessing vouchsafed to their forefathers. The fourth and last cup is accompanied with some passages borrowed from the scripture, imprecating the divine vengeance on the heathens and on all the enemies of Israel.—The same course of ceremonies is repeated on the second night.—'This ceremonial the modern Jews profess to believe, 'will be as acceptable in the presence of the Lord as the actual offering of the Passover.'

"The first two days, and the last two, are kept as days of high solemnity, being celebrated with great pomp, by extraordinary services in the synagogues, and by an abstinence from all labor, nearly as strict as on the Sabbath; except that they are allowed to make a fire, dress their meat, and carry any things they want from one

\* The reason assigned by the rabbies for discontinuing the oblation of the Paschal Lamb, and the rites with which it was to be accompanied is, that those ceremonies can be lawfully performed only in the land of Canaan, all other countries being unholy and polluted. But do the Jews now resident in Palestine perform those services? If not, what is the reason of *their* omission of so important a part of the law? and can the reason assigned by the rabbies, for the omission in other countries be the true one?

place to another. The four intermediate days are a kind of half holidays, distinguished from common days only by the interdiction of servile work, and a long list of particular restrictions, which it would be tedious, and unnecessary to recite. The last day of the festival is concluded with the ceremony called *Habdala*, which, with the omission of the spice, is performed in the same manner as at the close of the Sabbath. After this they are at liberty to return to the use of leavened bread.—Contracts of marriage may be made, but no marriage is to be solemnized during this festival.”

### *Feast of Pentecost.*

“The Feast of Pentecost is on the sixth day of the month Sivan, the fiftieth of the Omer. From this circumstance it obtains the name of Pentecost, which is derived from a Greek word signifying the fiftieth. Moses calls it the Feast of Weeks, because it was fixed at the end of seven weeks from the offering of the sheaf; and the Feast of First Fruits, because an offering was then to be made of two loaves the produce of the corn just reaped. This festival, which it has already been stated, now includes two days, is kept with the same strictness as the first two days of the Passover, and is celebrated with peculiar services in the synagogues. In some countries it is customary to adorn the synagogues and houses with flowers and odoriferous herbs. The book of Ruth is read, because the circumstances it relates took place at the time of harvest. At this time too, the Jews tell us, the law was delivered on mount Sinai, and therefore that portion of Scripture which declares the delivery of the decalogue is solemnly read.

The six hundred and thirteen precepts, said to comprehend the whole law, are also formally recited. The morning service of the second day is concluded with prayers for the dead.\* On the evening of the second day the festival is terminated by the ceremony of *Habdala*, performed in the same manner as on the eighth day of the Passover."

"In *Awb*, which answers to July or August, in the fifth month of the ecclesiastical year, the Jews observe a strict fast, occasioned by the destruction of the first temple by Nebuchadnezzar. On this day also the second temple was burnt by the Romans. During this fast they not only abstain from all food, but do not even taste a drop of water. In the evening they go to the synagogue, and, after their usual prayers, the book of Jeremiah is read in a low mournful voice. In the morning they attend the synagogue early, and read a portion of the law, and part of the 8th and 9th chapters of Jeremiah. They go to the synagogue again in the afternoon, and read passages from the law and the prophets suita-

\* This office is entitled 'The Memorial of Departed Souls.' 'It is customary to make mention of the souls of departed parents and others on the day of atonement, and the ultimate days of the three festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, and to offer for the repose of their souls.'

"May God remember the soul of my honored father, A. B. who is gone to his repose; for that I now solemnly offer charity for his sake; in reward of this, may his soul enjoy eternal life, with the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, and Leah; and the rest of the righteous males and females that are in Paradise; and let us say, Amen.

"May God remember the soul of my honored mother, C. D. who is gone, etc.

"May God remember the souls of my father and mother, my grandfathers and grandmothers, my uncles and aunts, my brothers and sisters, whether fraternal or maternal, who are gone, etc."

ble to the occasion. All their prayers on this day tend to remind them of their captivity; and the destruction of their temple, which deprived them of offering the daily sacrifice by which an atonement was made for their sins.

“ Besides the public fasts, which the Jews are commanded to observe, there are some others peculiar to the nation in different countries. The German Jews for instance, both after the passover, and the feast of tabernacles, keep three fasts, viz. on Monday, Tuesday, and the following Monday. The reason assigned for this practice is, that they might, during the preceding feasts,\* have committed some offence against God. They fast also on the vigil of the new year, and some on that of every new month. Several other fasts and festivals have been instituted, but not generally received, and are not observed at present.”

### *Feast of Trumpets.*

“ The feast of trumpets is celebrated on the first day of the seventh month. It is now generally called Rosh Hashanah, or the new year; reckoning from the period of the creation. My readers will remember that the month Nisan or Abib was ordered to be the beginning of months, in commemoration of the deliverance out of Egypt; it is supposed to have been formerly the seventh month, and that the month Tishri, which commences with the feast of trumpets was the beginning of the year. Both periods are now in use; by the former, called the

\* This custom appears to be founded upon the practice of Job, who offered sacrifices for his children after they had feasted, for fear they should have sinned against God—*Job* i. 4, 5.

ecclesiastical year, all the feasts and fasts are reckoned ; and by the latter, or civil year, the Jews still compute time in the ordinary transactions of life.

“ For a month before the feast of trumpets, each day, after morning service in the synagogue, the ram’s horn is sounded. This horn is just as it is taken off the ram, only a little straightened, and made capable of giving forth a sound. The common idea is, that this is to awaken the mercy of God towards them, by putting him in remembrance of the time when Abraham was about to offer up Isaac, and the Lord graciously pointed out to him a ram entangled in a thicket by his horns. Oh how confident ought we to show ourselves of the mercy and love of God, who profess to be justified by the offering up of Him, of whom Isaac was a figure ! How unbecoming is all doubt and distrust, in those who see this great act of God’s reconciliation !

“ About a week before the feast, the Jews assemble every morning in the synagogue, at three or four o’clock, for prayer and prostration before the Lord. The prayers and confessions are very striking, calling upon God to pardon them whatsoever they may have done amiss, during the year that is past ; and entreating for spiritual and temporal blessings in the year to come. The day previous to the feast, they go to the synagogue at two o’clock in the morning ; again making confession of sin, and reminding God of his covenant with Abraham : this morning is called *Zechor Berith*, a reminding of the covenant. The following are some of the petitions used on this day :—

‘ Righteousness belongeth unto Thee, but unto us confusion of faces : what can we answer or say unto

Thee, or how shall we be justified before our God? We will seek to return unto Thee, for Thy right hand is stretched out to receive the penitent, those that return unto Thee with their whole heart: Thou hearest their cries for Thy tender mercies' sake. We come before Thee, very poor and needy; do not, we beseech Thee, send us empty away. Our souls and bodies are Thine; Thou hast made us; oh! have mercy upon Thine own workmanship. Do this, for Thine own name's sake, for Thy name is gracious and merciful. If thou shouldst mark iniquity, who could stand? But there is forgiveness with Thee that thou mayest be feared: with Thee is the fountain of life: in Thy light we shall see light. We fall down before Thee, not in our own righteousness, but for Thy righteousness' sake. O Lord! let all Thy works praise Thee, and let all Thy creatures worship before Thy face: may they all be knit together in one *knot*, to do Thy will with their whole hearts. Give honor unto Thy people, praise to those that fear Thee, faith to those that seek Thee, and open the mouths of those that wait for Thee: give joy unto Thy land, and gladness unto Thy city; cause the horn of Thy servant David to be exalted; and may the light of the son of Jesse, Thy anointed, be set in order speedily, even in our days. And may Thy kingdom speedily begin upon all Thy works, upon Zion, the dwelling of Thy glory, and in Jerusalem the city of Thy holiness, according as thou hast declared in Thy holy words: 'the Lord shall reign for ever and ever, even thy God, O Zion, to all generations, Hallelujah.' "

" On the morning of the feast of trumpets, after assembling in the synagogue, they again renew the confession



of their sins during the past year, and entreat mercy and forgiveness. The general expectation is, that at this season, in which the original creation was accomplished, the recreation, or restitution of all things, will take place; that the Jews shall be restored to their own land, and the peaceful reign of Messiah commence. Much of the service of the day has a direct reference to this subject.

“The trumpet, which is the ram’s horn before mentioned, is sounded three times, by a devout man. The first sound is called *Malchuth*, or the kingdom; and is accompanied with an invocation to God, to reign over the whole creation, in the fulness of His glory; that every creature may know Him to be the King, and every living soul say, ‘the God of Israel reigneth.’

“The second sound is called *Zechrounouth*, or Remembrances: this is to remind God of His promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and to entreat Him to remember their posterity with mercy.

“The third sound is called *Shouphrouth*, or the Trumpets; this is to call to remembrance the time when, after having delivered them out of the bondage of Egypt, God gave them the law from Mount Sinai, with the sound of a trumpet; and to invoke Him to hasten the time when the great trumpet shall be blown, and they shall all come to worship the Lord in the holy Mount of Jerusalem. (Isaiah xxvii.) I may just remind my readers of a striking coincidence in the use of this symbol, in the book of Revelation; that when the last trumpet is sounded, it is announced that ‘the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever.’ (Rev. xi. 15.)”

*Day of Atonement.*

“The day of atonement is the tenth day of this same month. The first ten days of this month, that is, the whole time from the feast of trumpets to the day of atonement, are called the ten days of repentance. Part of each day is devoted to self-examination and prayer, and reading the Psalms. The day before the day of atonement is especially set apart for private devotion; the parents exhort and bless the children, and instruct them in the nature of the services of the following day. On this day there is a very peculiar ceremony observed, the exact nature of which has been mistaken by those Gentiles who have noticed it; inasmuch as they have viewed it in the light of a propitiatory sacrifice, a rite which the Jews entirely disclaim in their state of dispersion. They take a cock, or some other winged fowl, and kill it; declaring themselves to be worthy of death on account of their sins, and using this cock as their substitute or representative; but in order that it may not be considered as pertaining to the sacrifices of the law, they are forbidden to use any of the fowls that were formerly used as sacrifices, or offerings, and it is a domestic, and not a public, ceremony. It is supposed to have been first instituted during the Babylonish captivity, in order, by this visible sign, to remind them, during the privation of the temple service, that the penalty of death is due to sin.

“In their evening assembly in the synagogue, there is generally a deep and solemn feeling awakened. It is commonly believed, that at this time God sits as supreme judge, and disposes of all things; allotting to each individual the events that are to befall him in the ensuing

year. The whole congregation are dressed in white garments, kept by them expressly for this occasion, and which garments are finally used as their grave-clothes. It will easily be believed that this is a time of much solemnity; the thoughts of many revert to their dear departed relatives, who perhaps a year before sat beside them, arrayed in those vestments which have since enveloped their breathless clay; while others have the terrors of approaching death brought vividly to their own remembrance. Many sighs and tears accompany the prayers that are then offered up. The rich are to be humbled, by seeing themselves dressed in the same way as the poorest in the assembly; seeing there is a time when all must return into the ground whence they were taken; the vanity of earthly grandeur is thus shown forth and the equality of all men in the presence of God, as poor and helpless sinners. Service lasts, on this evening, till nearly ten o'clock. A rigid fast is observed for the same length of time I have formerly mentioned; not even a drop of water being taken; and on this day children, only eleven years old, frequently join in the general abstinence; this is not imposed on them as a duty at that early age, but most of them do it willingly.

“ The next morning they again meet in the synagogue, and remain there until evening. The whole day is spent in prayer, and reading the psalms and other scriptures; and also an account is read of the services of this day, as performed of old in the temple. Many of the prayers are very beautiful; but I can afford only short quotations.

“ ‘ O God! before we were created, there was no worthiness in us, that we should be created; and now that we are created, we are as unprofitable as if we had

not been created. We are before Thee as a vessel filled with shame and disgrace; may it please Thee, O God! that we may sin no more, and blot out, through Thy mercy, all our transgressions.'

" 'Oh our God! and the God of our fathers! be pleased to teach all Thy servants who are standing before Thee this day how to pray: may we ask nothing but what is in accordance with Thy will: and be gracious unto us; for Thou hast declared by Thy holy prophets, that Thou wilt be gracious unto whom Thou wilt be gracious,' etc.

" After that part of the service is read, detailing the mode of this day's celebration in the temple, they again acknowledge their transgressions, and plead for the mercy of God, saying: 'We have no high priest, no sacrifice, no temple, no shechinah; but we look for Thy free mercy, for Thou art gracious and merciful.' In the evening, the service is concluded by the sounding of the horn, in commemoration of the sound of the Trumpet, which, in Leviticus xxv. 9, is commanded to be sounded on the day of atonement. This was the signal when every man was to return to his inheritance; and it is now considered as symbolizing the time when the iniquity of Jacob shall be purged,—when the Messiah will come and sprinkle clean water upon them, and they shall be clean,—when the jubilee shall be proclaimed, and they shall return again unto their own land."

### *Feast of Tabernacles.*

"The next of this series of annual solemnities, is the Feast of Tabernacles; which is commenced on the fifteenth day of this same month of Tishri. It is regarded as a season of great joy.

“The lesson read in the synagogue on the first day, is Zech. xiv., in which this feast is mentioned, in connection with the restoration of Jerusalem. At certain parts of the service, they take in their hands, as commanded, branches of palm, myrtle, and willow, and the fruit of the citron. While on the subject of the public service, it occurs to me to mention two of the blessings, which are not peculiar to this feast, but common to all; and which will show how unfounded is the notion some Christians entertain, that the resurrection of the dead is not a doctrine distinctly recognized as an article of faith among the Jews: ‘Thou wilt establish Thy faithfulness to those that sleep in the dust.’ ‘Thou art also faithful to revive the dead. Blessed art Thou, O Lord! who revivest the dead.’

“The tabernacle, or booth, in which they were commanded to dwell seven days, is now generally erected by the Jews in some garden or court-yard adjoining their houses. It is an enclosure, about twelve or fifteen feet square; and is composed on three sides of boards, the fourth side being left open. The roof is generally thatched with branches of trees, it being necessary that the stars should be seen through it, in order to show that it is but a temporary dwelling, not a ceiled house. In this tent the family assemble, after returning from the synagogue; and having blest the Lord for giving them the feast of tabernacles, they sup together in it. Unless the inclemency of the weather renders it impracticable, every meal is taken there during the seven days of the feast. In southern climates, where the air is temperate, and rain is hardly known at that season, the tabernacles are of such a size as to enable the family to live in them en-

tirely during the seven days; but in these northern latitudes this is not attempted, except by certain individual members of the family who may choose to do so. I may mention, that when rainy weather occurs during the feast of tabernacles, it is always considered as a mark of God's displeasure.

"The seventh day is called Hoshanna rabba, the great salvation; from the idea that their future great deliverance, and restoration to their own land, will take place at this time, and that the eighth or great day of the feast, will be spent in rejoicing over this final deliverance. On this day they go round the synagogue seven times, carrying the palm and other branches in their hands, and singing hymns; saying, 'Save us, O God, for thy name's sake; save us for thy righteousness' sake,' etc. There are many traditions respecting the joyful manner in which the eighth and last day of the feast was kept, while they were yet in their own land. They used to draw water from the fountain of Siloah, which they poured out on the altar; and as the Levites were ascending the steps, it is said, they sung the Psalms called the songs of degrees, or *steps*, as it may be translated. The rejoicing was so great, that it was a common saying, 'that he who has not seen the joy of the drawing of water, does not know what joy means.' This ceremony is thought to be referred to in the twelfth chapter of Isaiah; and also by our Lord, in John vii. 37."

### *Feast of the Dedication.*

"The feast next in order is one little known to Christians, (although it is alluded to in the New Testament,) as it commemorates an event that occurred after the

close of the Old Testament history. It is the Feast of the Dedication, in remembrance of the cleansing of the sanctuary, by Judas Maccabeus. As many of my readers may be little acquainted with this part of the history of our nation, I shall give the narrative as related in the First Book of Maccabees.

“Judas Maccabeus, having put to flight the army of Lysias, he and the other Jews went up to Mount Zion, and after lamenting the desolation of the sanctuary, they began to purify and repair it. They pulled down the altar which had been profaned by the heathen, and built a new one. ‘Now, on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, (which is called the month Chisleu,) in the hundred and forty-eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifice according to the law, upon the new altar of burnt-offerings which they had made. Look at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that it was dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals. Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away. Moreover, Judas and his brethren, with the whole congregation of Israel, ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year, by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Chisleu, with mirth and gladness.’ (1st Maccabees, iv. 52—59.)

“There is no public service appointed for the feast, because the books of Maccabees, never having been admitted by Jews to a higher rank than that of uninspired history, cannot be read in the synagogues. It is commemorated in the daily private devotions, by a special



prayer and thanksgiving, appointed to be used during these eight days; and in the family, by the lighting of candles or lamps, in remembrance of Judas and his followers having 'lighted the lamps that were upon the candlesticks, that they might give light in the temple.' (1st Mac. iv. 50.) One is lighted on the first night of the feast, and one more added every night during its continuance."

### *Feast of Purim.*

"The last of these commemorative ordinances is the Feast of Purim, mentioned in the ninth chapter of Esther. It is kept on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the twelfth month. It is now, as at its first institution, 'a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another.' (Esther ix. 19.) On the thirteenth day of the month, there is a fast, in remembrance of that kept by Esther, before she presented her suit to the king. On the evening of the fourteenth, and morning of the fifteenth days, there is service in the synagogue, in which the narrative of the Jews' deliverance, and the overthrow of their enemies, is read from the book of Esther; and as often as the name of Haman is mentioned, it is customary for the children, (who have little wooden hammers,) to knock against the wall, as a memorial that they should endeavor to destroy the race of Amalek. It is a time of much social joy; members of the same family meet together at each others' houses, and send presents one to another.

"Such is, at this day, the mode of observing these outward ordinances, which has served to accomplish the prophecy concerning them, during the long period of

more than three thousand years : 'Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.'

"I shall, in conclusion, mention, what is not generally known to Christians, that though there is no officiating priesthood, yet the family of the priests, and the remnant of the Levites that are scattered among the dispersion of Judah, are distinctly known ; and have certain privileges attached to them. The family of Aaron, who all bear the name of Cohen (priest), subjoined either to their proper or family name, have the privilege, on all occasions, of reading the first chapter in the law ; and on the festivals, that of pronouncing the blessing ; which is the same given by the Lord to Aaron and his sons recorded in Numbers, vi. 24—26, 'The Lord bless thee, and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.' The Levites read the second chapter in the law ; and on festival days, perform their ancient office of waiting on the priests ; presenting to them a basin of water and a towel, that they may wash their hands, immediately before they pronounce the blessing. All the Cohens present pronounce the blessing with one voice ; which, when they are numerous, has a solemn and imposing effect."

### *Marriage.*

"Marriage is accounted the indispensable duty of every Jew. The time which the rabbins have assigned as the most proper for discharging this obligation, is the age of eighteen ; and men who remain in celibacy long after are considered as living in sin.

"When a marriage is agreed upon, the promise is made

before witnesses ; which is called *betrothing*, or *espousing*. (Matt. i. 18.) The parties continue betrothed sometimes six months, sometimes a year, or more, before the union is consummated.

“ Their marriage ceremonies, in different times and places, have exhibited some unimportant varieties, but the latest of their own writers have given the following general account of them, as performed in this and other countries in the present age.

“ On the day fixed for the solemnization of the nuptials, the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the place appointed for the celebration of the ceremony. The bride is escorted by women, and the bridegroom by men. The company is generally large, including most or all of their friends and acquaintance. Ten men, at least, must be present ; or the marriage is null and void. The chief rabbi and chassan of the synagogue form part of the company.

“ A velvet canopy is brought into the room, and extended on four long poles. The bride and bridegroom are led to their station under this canopy : the bridegroom by two men ; and the bride by two women, her face being covered with a veil. These two men and two women are always the parents of the bride and bridegroom, if they happen to be living : otherwise this office is performed by their nearest kindred, a man and his wife for the bride, and another man and his wife for the bridegroom ; though the bridegroom is led by the men, and the bride by the women. The parties are placed opposite to each other, and then the person who performs the ceremony, takes a glass of wine in his hand, and says : ‘ Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe ! who createst

the fruit of the vine. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe! who has sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast forbidden us fornication, and hast restrained us from the betrothed, but hast permitted us those who are married to us by means of the canopy and wedlock. Blessed art thou, O Lord! who sanctifiest Israel.' The bridegroom and bride then drink of the wine; after which the bridegroom takes the ring, and puts it on the bride's finger; saying, 'Behold, thou art wedded to me with this ring, according to the law of Moses and Israel.'

"Then the marriage contract is read, which specifies that the bridegroom A. B. agrees to take the bride C. D. as his lawful wife, according to the law of Moses and Israel; and that he will keep, maintain, honor and cherish her, according to the manner of all the Jews, who honor, keep, maintain and cherish their wives; and that he will keep her in clothing decently, according to the custom of the world. This instrument also specifies what sum he settles upon her in case of his death; and he obliges his heirs, executors and administrators, to pay the same to her out of the first produce of his effects.

"After the reading of this instrument, the person performing the ceremony takes another glass of wine and repeats seven benedictions. Then the bridegroom and bride drink the wine; after which the empty glass is laid on the floor, and the bridegroom, stamping on it, breaks it to pieces. This part of the ceremony is said to be intended as an indication of the frailty of life. Then all the company shout, *Good luck to you*. The ceremony is followed by a contribution for the poor Jews of Canaan. The nuptial feast is as sumptuous as the parties can afford, and continues for seven days."

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